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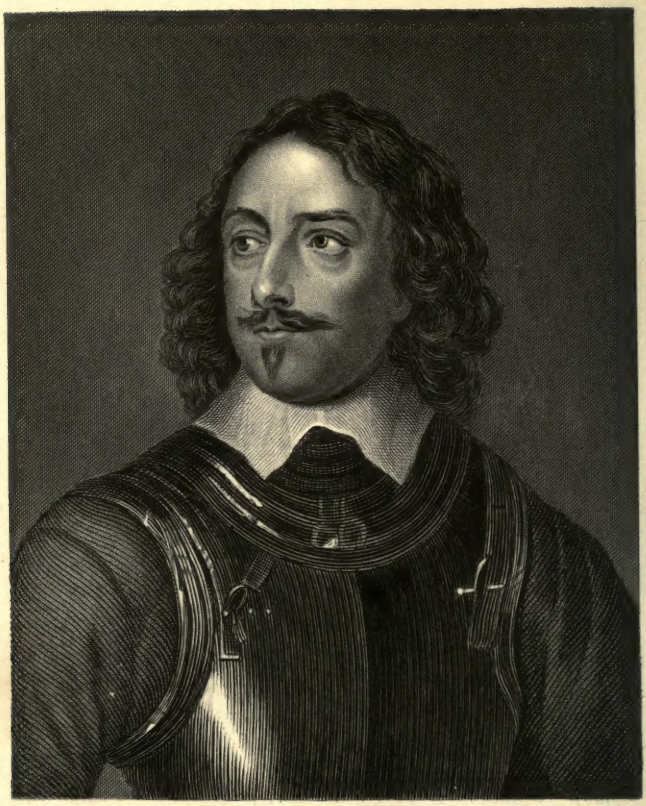

Walker. pinx. *J.W. Cook, sc.*

Robert Devereux,

EARL OF ESSEX.

MEMORIALS

OF

THE CIVIL WAR:

COMPRISING

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FAIRFAX FAMILY
WITH THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES ENGAGED IN THAT MEMORABLE CONTEST.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

EDITED BY

ROBERT BELL,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF RUSSIA," "LIFE OF CANNING," ETC.

FORMING THE CONCLUDING VOLUMES OF

THE FAIRFAX CORRESPONDENCE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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INTRODUCTION.

THESE volumes embrace the period of the Civil War and the Restoration, and contain a mass of Original Letters from nearly all the famous men who were actively engaged in the struggle,—the Fairfaxes, Cromwell, Fleetwood, David Leslie, Hugh Peters, Hammond, Hutchinson, Buckingham, and many others. Crowded with minute details and individual experiences, they bring us closer to the actual vicissitudes of the flying campaigns—from the hoisting of the Royal Standard at Nottingham, to the imprisonment of the King at Carisbrook,—than any previous publication. Written for the most part on the instant, under the walls of besieged towns, in the committee rooms of the House of Commons, on the field of battle, or in the midst of councils of war, they are distinguished by a freshness and freedom seldom found in documents of a more formal character. In some cases—such as Rushworth's account of the forcible entry of the

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London Apprentices into the House of Commons—these letters afford circumstantial relations of particular facts which have not hitherto been so completely described; and in other instances they reveal secret opinions and feelings which exercised an important influence upon the conduct of public men. Fairfax's share in the Restoration is here, for the first time, disclosed in full. The Correspondence also incidentally illustrates the Personal History and Social Life of the times.

The Volumes are enriched by the addition of many unpublished letters bearing upon contemporary events, from a valuable collection in the possession of Mr. Bentley.

In preparing the whole for publication, the Editor has confined himself to the duty of elucidating obscure passages, and supplying such links of History and Biography as appeared essential to a distinct exhibition of the events and persons referred to in the Correspondence. He has endeavoured to avoid all superfluous matter, and has specially forborne to encumber the work with notes and authorities.

April, 1849.

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WINCEBY FIGHT.

1642—43.

The departure of his Majesty from Whitehall, on the 10th of January, was the first incident of the drama which soon afterwards filled the stage with the thunder of drums and trumpets. It is tolerably clear that Charles had a presentiment that he should never return, or return to his doom. After thanking the captain of the Trained Bands for his attendance, he added—"I do now dismiss you;" and with these words he set out for Hampton Court. He was secretly devoured by want of confidence in himself and in everybody about him; but he had that purple pride which is ashamed to own to its humanity. The fear that was in his thoughts is plainly marked out in his vibrations between Windsor and Hampton, and in his broken route onwards to the north; skirting and avoiding London, and flying farther and farther from it at every step. In this northern journey he was plunging deeper and deeper into the hot-bed of Puritanism; the country of the Fairfaxes, the De Veres and their allies; yet he still contrived to keep up that brave exterior which looks down contemptuously upon argument and negociation. He trampled reason and justice under

the hoofs of divine right. The sovereign will was paramount to all claims, sufferings and necessities. That alone appeared to him proper to assert and struggle for. The committee which intercepted him with prayers and entreaties at Newmarket to return to his Parliament, had an opportunity of tasting the full flavour of his imperial temper. Great as was his real trouble at this time, he put a face of royalty upon it that might have perplexed and shaken men of feebler penetration and resolution. But in playing out to the last this part of "every inch a king," he played it so coarsely as to betray the agitation his bluster and bravado were intended to conceal. There was a pitiable want of self-possession and dignity in interrupting the reading of the declaration by such unkingly exclamations as "*That's false!*" "*'Tis a lie!*" and in telling the Earl of Pembroke that he "*would whip a boy in Westminster School,*" who had as little understanding as the committee. People in a great fright, when put to a sudden extremity, often burst out into this sort of topping insolence—in reality, a nervous escape for terror. But it was not the language by which a king, in such a crisis, could have done justice to himself or his people. Under the improved relations which have grown up in our time between kings and subjects, this interview with the Parliamentary Committee is scarcely credible. The Parliament implore his Majesty to return to them, and to reassure their loyalty and the public confidence by the resumption of his legitimate place and functions; and he replies

to them by abrupt and violent expressions, charging them with lies, and telling them in round terms that they ought to be whipped. When negociation had degenerated into outrage, it was full time to try other methods of bringing their differences to a settlement.

It was upon this journey his Majesty shipped off the Queen for Holland. She embarked at Dover. The King is said to have exhibited considerable emotion at parting. Here was the presentiment again. It shows, also, how strangely the most obdurate natures preserve, amidst their hardness and bigotries, some point of tenderness or weakness. But the world would have a greater reliance upon this saving grace, if it were not generally found to be resolvable into selfishness.

The embarkation is referred to in the following letter, the writer of which, oblivious of the actual substance of his own communication, indulges a hope that public affairs are at last on the way to adjustment. They were never so much out of the way as at that moment. Mr. Browne, who writes this, appears to have been better qualified to pronounce upon canary wines and mulberry trees, than upon the open questions which were convulsing the kingdom from end to end under his eyes. His facts turn his hopes to dust. That remarkable unanimity of the two Houses of which he speaks, and the extensive changes so suddenly carried out in all offices of trust and authority, might have suggested to him that matters were not so near adjustment as he imagined.

CHRISTOPHER BROWNE TO HIS SON.

I HAVE received yours of the 4th, and that also of the 11th February, together with the copy of your bills and letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, who at this time is absent with the King, either at Canterbury or Dover, his Majesty accompanying the Queen so far on towards her intended journey for Holland. Mr. Ondart is now thence also, with Sir Edward, and Mr. Beare left for dispatch of business here. At his Majesty's return, which is expected will be within a few days, I shall attend Mr. Ondart, for an answer of your letter, and in the mean time will advise with my cousin Farrington and my cousin William, and resolve, (if we can,) upon some meet person to solicit your business both with the Commissioners and at the receipt. The last time we had speech thereof, we could not think upon any one more fit than our cousin Tuke.

There is great hope now conceived of a speedy settlement of our so long disturbed affairs; for his Majesty having lately cast himself into the arms of his Parliament, both Houses concur so unanimously, that they now dispatch more business in one day than formerly they could in a month's time; for they have already either discarded or changed all the lieutenants of the several counties both of England and Wales, and there is an universal change and alteration daily expected in the face, I mean the exterior part, both of Church, Court, and country, by removing, placing, and displacing not only our great officers, but some inferior also. Amongst the rest, I presume you will no less wonder than you do wish it, when you shall hear that Sir H. Vane is restored to his Treasurership. In the mean time, I hear

that the Earl of Stamford is already designed Mr. Jermyn's successor in his government of Jersey.

Yesterday, after many journeys to speak with Sir David Carleton, I happened to meet him in Westminster Hall, for he hath now no house in town. He tells me that he is accountable to you for —— by him received. As for those other gratuities of money, wine, and fish, he was that day come to town to inquire after them, but doubts (as the times now are) they will fall very short of what came in formerly. I then saluted George Carleton also, lately come out of Ireland with his wife and family; he commends him kindly to you.

My cousin William will take order forthwith to furnish a tierce of good wine for Mr. Edisbury; and if you desire any Canary wine, I have now a quarter cask of that which is good, and at a reasonable rate, which upon notice may be sent unto you.

I am glad to hear that little Dick is so refined *à la mode*, and become so stout a horseman. Upon notice that he dares shoot off a gun, I will send him a brass cannon. In the mean time, I long to know how he hath borne himself in this time of your carnivals, and with what countenance he hath entertained those strange disguises. I doubt not but Moll hath adventured to dance with the ugliest vizards in the troop. I pray God bless them, &c.

Your loving father,

CHR. BROWNE.

London, 17th February, 1641, [*N.S.* 1642].*

* The new style will be found thus distinguished from the old throughout these volumes. According to the old style, the legal year terminated on the 24th March—according to the new, on the 31st December. The change was not introduced into England till 1751, when the 1st January 1751 was brevetted 1752; but as the Gregorian Calendar had been adopted upwards of a century

Mr. Christopher Browne comes out to greater advantage in his domestic correspondence, which, although of no public or historical importance, may be admitted into a friendly parenthesis amongst the Fairfax papers. He seems to have had some connection with Algernon Sidney, and to have been a lover of gardening and cheerfulness. His June letter is crammed full of roses and strawberries, and other seasonable things.

CHRISTOPHER BROWNE TO HIS SON.

Yesternight I received yours of the 20th March; and am sorry our hopes of success in the overture I lately mentioned to you are become frustrate: the party himself is gone to play his own game, rather than trouble another to hold his cards. The particulars import not much, and at this time somewhat out of the way to relate, for me, who hasten to tell you that the place I have chosen for those seeds is safe enough from any injury of the ashen roots, or shade of their boughs,—voted to be so also by Sir William Russell's gardener, who wishes you had likewise sent, or yet would send, some cypress seeds; it will not be too late, he tells me, any time this month. Touching the digging of the old orchard, I doubt we shall hardly find a customer to undertake it for the benefit he may hope to reap thereby, the season of the year being now past for early peas; but we will try

and a half before by most of the countries of Europe, some confusion is unavoidably apparent in the dates of documents during the interval. This confusion, however, attaches only to the first three months of each year, and the reader will be enabled to reconcile all discrepancies by the help of the addition, within brackets, (as on the preceding page) of the date according to the new style.

what will be resolved upon the question. John and Lewes have already digged the mount, and planted it with beans and peas, &c., and are to be sharers in the benefit.

If my daughter shall approve thereof, she is provided of a gentlewoman, recommended by my cousin Muffats, the same I think mentioned to her at her departure hence, (reported to be extraordinarily qualified towards performance of more than is required, be it in the kitchen, larder, buttery, any office,) only her ambition is to sit at table the first course, and then to rise and attend my daughter's commands. That which above all pleases me (if I may believe Dr. Valentine), is a well-tempered cheerfulness, both in her discourse and deportment every way. I am also solicited to move for Mrs. Cooper, both by her own and her mother's earnest desires: the particulars I refer to her own letters, here inclosed.

I am sorry we can as yet give no better account to Sir W. B., touching payment of the 60*l.*, the late bill of 200*l.* still hanging upon our hands. Nevertheless, you may assure him that by the next money we can in these difficult times procure it shall be discharged, with consideration also to the party for his forbearance.

My cousin William and Mr. Baker are now here, to spend some time with me, finding the country air more agreeable than the city, especially at this time of little or no trading. And I hear also that Mr. Santhill, if he be not come to Paris already, will very shortly visit you there. I dare now promise that by the next ordinary you shall receive a particular account from my cousin William: he is this day gone to London, and to-morrow will return with the books and papers of his accounts, which, once perfected, you shall hear from him,—desiring in the meantime to be excused, his

many businesses at present not permitting him leisure. Both he and Mr. Baker (whose wife and family are removed to Lee, in Essex,) heartily salute you and my daughter; and myself, recommending you both, with little Dick and Moll, to God Almighty's gracious blessing, I conclude, and rest

Your loving father,

CHR. BROWNE.

Deptford, 16th March, 1641, [*N.S.* 1642].

CHRISTOPHER BROWNE TO HIS DAUGHTER.

DEARLY BELOVED DAUGHTER,

BY those I have received from William Bush, and those likewise from my son, I understand that he hath lately taken a journey, which I hope neither for the length of the way, nor time of negotiation, will cause his long absence from you. In the meanwhile, trusting in God's all-sufficient providence, I pray be cheerful. My cousin Farrington will take care for your supply, and hath already added to his former engagements this last bill of exchange for 100*l.* to Mr. Gyttings. Mr. Bartier hath discharged the 100*l.* bill, charged from thence by Mr. Algernon Sidney. And though neither the Court or Chequer hitherto yield any drops, the clouds (thanks be to God!) have been more propitiously bounteous in bestowing a new livery upon the Broomefield, and Gammer West is now at last dropped out of the clouds also, and by the assistance of Daniel, her associate, hath not only fringed the skirts of the gravel walks with pinks and violets, but embroidered also the borders with varieties of herbs and flowers. Only the two mulberry trees and great walnuts languish, I fear, past hope of recovery, though no means of

refreshment hath been wanting towards their preservation. Our damask roses also have been much blasted with the easterly winds; the red have escaped better. My cousin Farrington and Mrs. Edisbury have tasted of our strawberries; Mrs. Valentine's turn is next. As for raspberries we are like to have great store; and sugar being so abundantly cheap at this time, our chief want will be of a skilful preserver, unless it shall please God (which I heartily desire of him) to restore my cousin Farrington timely enough to her strength, much weakened at present by a hard bargain, though, thanks be to God, well delivered of a pretty, lively boy, last Friday morning.

Your tokens to Mrs. Edisbury were delivered to her mother, sealed up. Those, &c.,

Your loving father,

CHR. BROWNE.*

London, 16th June, 1642.

Since this letter came I received one from my brother Will, that my sister is very dangerously taken. I pray God send us better news from them.

The royal progress into the North awakened the suspicions of Parliament. There was a great magazine at Hull, which they desired to transport to the Tower, and, failing that, to prevent it, at all events, from falling into the hands of the King. For that purpose, they appointed Sir John Hotham governor of Hull, and ordered a party of the Trained Bands of Yorkshire into the town. The absolute necessity of the measure was

* These letters of Mr. Browne's are from Mr. Bentley's Collection.

shown in the sequel. The King, being still at York, appeared before Hull at the head of upwards of three hundred horse, and demanded admittance. The governor refused to open the gates, unless his Majesty consented to dismiss his troops, and enter with only twelve followers. This was the first time his Majesty met with a flat resistance. Hitherto we have had only evasions and state-paper formalities; but here the matter was stripped of sophistries and ceremonials, and reduced to a sword's point. The negociations between the governor and the King lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the evening, when poor royalty, finding all threats and persuasions fail, took refuge in the arms of two heralds, who on the spot proclaimed Sir John Hotham a traitor. This was all the satisfaction his Majesty got; for Parliament amply vindicated Sir John, and declared that the proclamation denouncing him as a traitor was itself a treason against Parliament, and a violation of law. The Beverly Gate, at which this memorable conference took place, may be set down as the opening scene of the tragic play of the Civil War. As the play advances, it is rather a solemn diversion of the interest to find this very Parliament, which had thus protected and applauded the patriotism of Sir John Hotham, compelled to put him and his son to death for betraying their trust in this same governorship of Hull.

Upon the Beverly Gate failure followed the attempt to seduce the gentry of York. Charles, cleverly enough,

took advantage of the hostile reception at Hull to make out a case for a body-guard. "You see," says he, "that my magazine is about to be taken from me;" and so it was necessary that the gentry should take a new oath of allegiance to protect his person, and disavow the separate authority of Parliament. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was at York at the time, thus writes home to his father an account of the proceeding :—

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WHEN I received your letters, I thought it would concern the committee as well as yourself, being directed with such haste; therefore before I sent them to you I made bold to carry the packet to them. The King's journey into Lincolnshire is stayed yet for ten days by the advice of my Lord of Bath. His intent of going thither was to have seen if that country would have accepted my Lord Lindsey for their Lord-Lieutenant. My Lord Clare dislikes their proceedings here, and will hasten away as soon as he can. Of Saturday the King made two propositions to the Lords:—first, if they would defend his person, and raise him some horse; secondly, whether they would obey an ordinance without his assent. They all promised to secure his person; but many of the lords desired to engage themselves further, and that they would observe those ordinances of Parliament which should be for his Majesty's honour and the safety of the kingdom. Those that went this way were Marquis Hertford, Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Clare, Lord Paulet, and

some others. My Lady Westmoreland will be at Appleton to-morrow at night, and stay two nights there. Her chief intention of coming was to see her sister, and for that time it will not be much chargeable. My wife presents her humble duty to your lordship, and had sent this day to have seen your lordship, but that she understands how you are by those which came from Denton. So, humbly desiring your lordship's blessing on us all, and praying for your health, I rest,

Your lordship's most humble and obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

York, June 13th, 1642.

The Lord Lindsey alluded to in this letter was soon afterwards appointed general of the King's forces,—a brief honour, being killed in the following October at the battle of Edgehill. He brought large supplies to the King's army, and possessed such influence in Lincolnshire, (which explains his Majesty's anxiety to establish him in the Lord-Lieutenancy,) that several of the companies of his own regiment were commanded by Lincolnshire gentlemen, who volunteered into the service to oblige him. Lindsey was brave to rashness, and haughty and zealous in his devotion to the Sovereign. His pride was unable to endure the distinction shown to Prince Rupert, who, as general of the horse, was specially exempt from all orders except such as were delivered expressly by the King himself. Lindsey, hurt at this exception, which compromised his position, declared to his friends, that when the day of battle came

he would die at the head of his regiment. And he kept his word.

The oath tendered to the noblemen at York was in these words :—

I, A. B., swear before the Almighty and ever living God that I will bear a true and faithful allegiance to my true and undoubted Sovereign Lord King Charles, who is lawful King of this island, and all other his kingdoms and dominions both by sea and land, by the laws of God and man, and by lawful succession; and that I will most constantly and cheerfully ever, to the uttermost hazard of my life and fortune, constantly oppose all seditions, rebellions, conspiracies, covenants, conjurations, and treasons whatsoever, against his royal dignity, crown, or person, raised or set up under what pretence or colour soever; and if it shall come veiled under pretence of religion, I hold it more abominable before God and man. And this oath I take voluntarily, in the true faith of a true Christian and loyal subject, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, and from which I do hold no power on earth can absolve me in any part.

The slight way in which Sir Thomas dismisses this business, may probably be ascribed to his conviction of the certainty of its failure. But it did not end exactly as he says. There was a diversity of answers returned to the demands of the King. A few went the whole way in compliance, and some the whole way in refusal. The greater part halted between. The individuals alluded to by Sir Thomas promised to defend the

King's person (as Hollis or Pym, had there been occasion, would have as readily done); but they also pledged themselves to defend the Protestant religion (which the King was never tired of professing) and the "lawful liberties of the subjects of England, and just privileges of his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament." Others plainly told him that the best advice they could give him was to hearken to the councils of his Parliament, who, they were assured, would be duly careful of his person and his honour; while the great body of the freeholders (more important at that juncture than the gentry themselves) protested against the entire proceeding.

It was clear from all this that Yorkshire was growing too hot for the King; and, although he continued to storm about his treatment at Hull, and to let Parliament know that he was determined to bring the traitor Hotham to justice, he resolved to get away from the neighbourhood as soon as he could. Having obtained a supply of arms and ammunition from Holland (where the Queen had been foolishly busying herself in procuring succour for him to tempt him on to his ruin), he issued his famous Commission of Array. This explicit movement terminated all doubt and irresolution. The King and the Parliament had now fairly put themselves upon the country. It was for the people to choose between the Array and the Militia.

The whole kingdom was thrown into confusion. The busy note of preparation was heard in all quarters.

The shadows of coming events fell broad and dark over the surface of the land. The perplexity of the people broke out in various shapes, and the universal incertitude penetrated even to the tribunals of justice. The Judges on the Bench sat in a state of solemn dubiety. A letter from Mr. Rushworth to Lord Fairfax touches upon the "signs of the times."

MR. RUSHWORTH TO LORD FAIRFAX.

LETTERS came this day of the certainty of the business about Bath and Wells in Somersetshire, where about 30,000 of the inhabitants in Somersetshire were in arms, and besieged Wells, and planted thirty pieces of cannon on the hill that commanded the town, where the Marquis Hertford, the Lord Paulet, and the Lord Seymour, and Lord Cottington, with 500 horse well armed, were quartered. They had four cart-loads of powder, match, and bullet from Bristol, and so continued in arms all night. Sir John Horn, Mr. Alexander Popham, Sir Edward Hungerford, and Mr. Ashe being there in person. and summoned the Marquis to come to them; but, in the night time, he and his horse all marched away, and so fled out of the county; so they are now gone to see if they can catch Sir John Stowell, Sir John Powlett, and Captain Digby, who commanded those forces under the Marquis, that hath slain and wounded divers of the Parliament side without provocation. The Parliament hath sent 300 horse to assist the foot in that county, who are generally for the Parliament.

Three troops of horse are sent to Portsmouth, and a regiment of foot sent to Banbury, to remove the Earl of

Northampton thence, who is there to catch seven pieces of ordnance of the Lord Brooks, with 600 horse, but the county begins to rise round about him. The Parliament hath received a petition from four Lords, and ten of the House of Commons, residing in Yorkshire, viz., the Lord Savile, Lord Falconbridge, and Sir William Savile, Mr. Henry Bellassis, &c., of such a nature as was never signed by members of Parliament, and voted to be an insolent petition and they must not go unpunished.

In Worcestershire, at the assizes, there was a grand jury of knights, &c., but none but one that was legally returned was admitted to serve. They concluded of a petition in dislike of the Parliament. Judge Henden forbore there to deliver his opinion according to the commands of Parliament touching the commission of array.

There is an intention and preparation to adjourn speedily. I see no signs of peace, our preparations come on so fast. I pray let your, &c.

The messengers of the Yorkshire petition are committed to the Black Rod not as bearers of this petition, but for dangerous words spoken by them, as is proved here against them.

The House is much contented with Sir Thomas Fairfax's noble carriage of Thursday last.

August, 1642.

Mr. Rushworth, the writer of this letter, was nearly related to the Fairfax family, and owes much of his celebrity, as an historical collector, to the advantages he derived from that connection. A barrister by profession, he abandoned the common law for state affairs, and

voluntarily devoted himself for several years to the task of taking down in short-hand the speeches and proceedings in Parliament. His industry in this pursuit is probably unparalleled, and the world is largely indebted to him for the results. He afterwards became assistant clerk to the Commons, and the House reposed such trust in him, as to employ him constantly in conveying messages and addresses between Parliament and the King, while his Majesty was at York, a distance of upwards of 150 miles, which Rushworth is said to have frequently ridden within the twenty-four hours. When Sir Thomas Fairfax became generalissimo, Mr. Rushworth was appointed his secretary. During the Commonwealth he acted upon a committee for the reformation of the law, and served in several Parliaments after the death of Cromwell. Yet, notwithstanding that he acquired the respect of all parties by the integrity of his character, and had ample opportunities of securing an independence, he lingered out the last six years of his life in the King's Bench prison, where he died in May, 1690. His fine business faculties became impaired at last, and his end was hastened by intemperance.

On the 22nd of August the King set up his standard at Nottingham. The war was now begun in real earnest. The details are matters of history with which all readers interested in the English annals are already familiar. We have here to do only with our own special celebrities, and with the progress of the war

in the north, as illustrated in the correspondence before us.

We have hitherto seen little of Lord Fairfax or his son in these transactions. The single exploit which indicated the temper and inclination of the family was the gallantry of young "Tom"—proud and fiery Tom—on Heyworth Moor. The military genius of the Fairfaxes slumbered at the fireside at Denton while the King bandied protocols with Parliament; but the case was altered when he issued the Commission of Array. The time was gone by for hesitation. It was no longer possible even to be neutral. Fairfax had special reason to stir himself. The Roundheads looked to him as the conservator of the zeal and enthusiasm of the north; and the Cavaliers, fearing his influence, resolved to put him out of the way. A plan was laid to seize his person, and convey him, on some flimsy pretext of disaffection, a prisoner to York; but, forewarned of the design, he armed his tenantry, took the field, and baffled his enemies. It was by such electric movements the King was defeated all throughout. Whichever way he turned, to fly or fight, he was stopped or anticipated. Whenever he planned a piece of treachery, he was caught in his own springe.

Lord Fairfax was immediately appointed to the command of the Parliamentary forces in the north. The urgency of the occasion may be seen in the hasty despatch of a letter addressed to the noblemen and gentlemen of Yorkshire by the Committee of Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We have received information that at a late meeting at Leeds divers worthy gentlemen and others, well affected inhabitants of Yorkshire, have declared themselves desirous to preserve the peace of that county, and to secure his Majesty's subjects from those violent oppressions executed upon their persons and estates by the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Savile, and others, by pretence of the commission of array, and other commissions against law, and for that purpose have thought upon a noble person of your county, the Lord Fairfax, to command in chief over the forces of that shire, and that John Hotham, Esq., lately conferred much help and furtherance to this noble resolution by coming out of Hull with some forces, both horse and foot. Hereupon, we have received directions from both Houses of Parliament to signify unto you their approbation, and to give all encouragement and assistance in these proceedings, as conducing much to that great work which the Parliament hath undertaken to secure—religion and the liberty and peace of the kingdom, which are much endangered by the ill council about his Majesty, and the war now raised against the Parliament; in pursuance whereof, we have thought good hereby to desire and authorize you to draw the forces of that county together under the conduct of the Lord Fairfax; and to defend his Majesty's subjects in their persons and liberties against the said Earl of Cumberland, or any other that shall oppress the same by pretence of any commission whatsoever. And for your better performance hereof, we intend to send down very speedily some experienced officers, with ample instructions in such manner as hath been given to other parties of the kingdom in the like case; and to commend the

Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Essex, intreating his Excellency to send him a commission to the same effect. And, in the meantime, we have sent this bearer of purpose to give you notice of the intention and order of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and of our particular care to second our good affections and endeavours in this so necessary and advantageous a service of the kingdom, and so remain,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

H. VANE. THO. BARRINGTON.

HEN. MARTIN. JO. PYM.

Westmoreland, September 27th, 1642.
At 8 at night.

A few weeks afterwards, the same Committee, in the name of the Parliament, express their approbation of his lordship's proceedings, and send Mr. Rushworth upon a special mission to ascertain the actual state of his affairs and necessities.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE FORCES IN YORKSHIRE, FOR THE PARLIAMENT.

MY LORD,

UNDERSTANDING, by your lordship's letter to Sir Christopher Wray and Captain Hatcher, that you are in the field with 500 foot, and are increasing daily in your forces for the service of the Parliament and kingdom, in the public cause which now they have in hand, it is so great contentment to us, and so desirous we are to encourage your lordship in your noble proceedings, that we have thought fit to assure you nothing shall be wanting on our part to second your lordship's endeavours in this cause with whatsoever lies

in our power; to which purpose we have despatched by this bearer, Mr. Rushworth, an express to you, that by him we may understand the truth of affairs with you, and your desires to us for the advance of the present service herein; in the meantime, we have thought fit by this messenger to send our orders to Mr. Hotham, and the two troops of horse come to him out of Lincolnshire, to observe such commands as they shall receive from your lordship; what further supplies you desire from us, when we shall understand the same from your lordship, we shall use all possible care to speed them to you. The good state of our affairs here, and of the army, we shall refer to the relation of this bearer, who will inform your lordship of all particulars and resolutions the Parliament have taken thereupon for the public good in these troublesome times. And so we rest,

Your very loving friends and servants,

T. Northumberland.	H. Vane.
L. N. Howard.	Holland.
Pembroke and Mont.	W. Pierrepont.
Warwick.	Gilb. Gerrard.

October 21*st*, 1642.

Lord Fairfax had been in the discharge of his duties upwards of two months (without waiting, it appears, for the formal authority of a commission), when he forwarded the following dispatch to the committee, giving an exact account of what had been done in the interval. This dispatch, with the exception of the most curious and important part of it, has been already printed by Rushworth, whose omission of the passage from "Thus, my lords, I have represented briefly the

condition of the army," to the end, is too remarkable not to justify the publication of the whole document. It would be idle to conjecture how it was that Rushworth came to drop out or lose this passage, unless we are to ascribe it to one of those suppressions of truth of which he is roundly accused by Nalson and others. Certain it is that the document was presented in its entirety to Parliament; for the Speaker's answer, which is here added, relates almost exclusively to the matters contained in the omitted passage.

It will be seen that Lord Fairfax makes a grave complaint of the distresses of the army, and warns the House of the power of the Royalists, by means of their numerous garrisons, to cut off the scattered troops should they be forced to go about the country to levy sustenance. Yet such are the greater difficulties of the Parliament, that the House is able to send only a moiety of the sum voted for the relief of the soldiers, and is compelled to authorise the general, in case of extreme necessity, to billet the soldiers on the county. What inadequate notions we can form, at this distance of time, of the small, harassing impediments against which the Parliament had to contend, and of the discretion and vigilance demanded in the least as in the greatest things, to enable them to conduct the struggle to its triumphant issue! By this single act of billetting the soldiers the cause was placed in imminent peril. Yet it was unavoidable. The Commission of Array was out over the county, and was already making head in several other places. The King had

garrisons ready for whatever might turn up, and was watching his opportunity for any sudden stroke of success that might determine in his favour those floating masses of opinion, which, at such times, are always found waiting on events; and here were the new, raw, incoherent bands of the Parliament army drifted loose amongst the farmers and shopkeepers to get house-room and nurture as they might, an easy prey to the first compact movement of their more disciplined opponents.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS FOR THE SAFETY OF THE KINGDOM.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

UPON Saturday last I received a declaration of Parliament, with a commission from his excellency the Earl of Essex, to command in chief over the forces of the North and other adjacent counties, which great honour and trust of far above my ambition or merit, by your lordships conferred upon me, I shall exercise with all care and fidelity, not doubting but that your lordships will enable me therein with such other supplies as the necessity of the service shall require, and that reported from hence.

The estate of the affairs in these parts since my last despatch of the first of this month, stands in this manner:—The Earl of Newcastle is come to York, and joined his forces to the Earl of Cumberland, making in all, as I am informed, about 8000 men, horse and foot, of which there is about 2000 horse and dragooners—a strength far too potent to be resisted by the small power which I have here, whereof I send

a list enclosed. Our strength was once estimated by ourselves far greater than now it appears; for, upon the Earl of Newcastle coming over the Tees, Sir Edward Loftus with all the Richmondshire men, and Sir Henry Anderson with all the Cleveland men, and the rest of the North Riding, which were estimated at 1000 men, did all return to their own houses, save about 130 men, brought thither by Sir Matthew Boynton and some other gentlemen, and one troop of horse, raised by Sir Henry Fowlis, and about forty horse more, brought hither by Captain Anderson; and, besides this defect, our numbers are decreased by Sir Hugh Cholmeley: to whom I have sent divers orders to march northwards to join with Captain Hotham and the rest in resisting the Earl of Newcastle's entry, before he came into Yorkshire, and since his entry, to come to me and the rest of the army at Tadcaster; but he found such impediments as he could do neither, and now I hear he is gone to Scarborough, and taken his forces with him, which were about 700 men; and Colonel Boynton, whose regiment consisted of 800 foot, is likewise marched towards Hull, although I sent him divers orders to march up hither to assist the forces at Tadcaster, giving me neither reason of his not coming to me, nor of his march towards Hull. And I, understanding that Sir John Gell had raised 800 men in Derbyshire, sent unto him to march hither to our succour; but I have received an answer from him that he is not able yet to stir from thence; and from Sir Anthony Irby nor the Lincolnshire men I hear nothing, though I have sent to them express messengers. So our whole strength here, upon return of the forces formerly sent into the North, consisting of twenty-one companies of foot, and seven troops of horse, and one company of dragooners, we did send of

them two companies of foot to secure Selby, one company to secure Cawood Castle, and quartered the rest part of them at Wetherby, under command of Captain Hotham, whom I have nominated to be lieutenant-general of the army; and the rest at Tadcaster, under my own command. And upon Tuesday, receiving intelligence that the Earl of Newcastle, with his whole forces, intended to fall upon our quarter, at Tadcaster, I sent to Captain Hotham to bring up the forces at Wetherby, which being done, and the Earl of Newcastle's army come in sight, we drew our men into the uttermost part of our quarter, where we had raised some breast-works for our musketeers; and there the fight began, about eleven of the clock, and so continued, in sharp dispute, until about four of the clock in the evening, in which time there was at least 40,000 musket-shots discharged on both sides, and great numbers of cannon-shot.

The enemy had once won part of the town, and beaten out our soldiers, and placed some of their company in two or three houses, which did much endanger us; but in the end our men, with great courage, forced them out again, recovered and burnt the houses, and killed many of the enemy's men that were there placed, and, in conclusion, forced the whole army to retreat, leaving many of their men dead, and great numbers wounded. The certain numbers nor qualities of the persons we could not take; but it is generally said by the country people that there was at least 100 found killed and burnt; and we took seventeen prisoners in the fight. And on our part we lost six men, and Captain William Lister, a valliant and gallant gentleman, who was shot with a musket-bullet in the head; and we had about twenty more wounded; and lost not one prisoner in the battle, though divers of our men, being negligent in their duty, staid behind us when we quit the quarter,

and so were taken, the next morning, by the enemy, and made prisoners. In this fight our men behaved themselves with very great resolution,—far beyond expectation, insomuch as I conceive we might have maintained the place still, if we had been furnished with powder and shot; but having spent in a manner all our whole store of bullets, match, and powder, I advised with the commanders, and by general consent it was thought fit to rise with our forces and march to Cawood and Selby, to secure those places, and there receive supplies of ammunition and men, which was accordingly done. And now I am at Selby, with part of the army, and the rest with Captain Hotham, at Cawood. And yesterday I sent my son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, with five companies on foot and two troop of horse towards Leeds, intending he should continue there, to secure that place and the other clothing towns against the Earl of Newcastle's forces, if it were possible. But the enemy's forces were laid so strong in the way as he could not pass; so he only beat up a quarter of the enemy's in a small village, took five prisoners, and retreated to Selby.

Thus, my lords, I have represented briefly the condition of this army at present, and which, I must confess, I fear will very suddenly grow worse, if not utterly broken up, and that especially for want of money,—I having not above a week's pay provided beforehand, and no visible means left to raise maintenance for them, unless I should give the soldiers free quarters upon the country,—a cure, in my conception, as dangerous as the disease, and, peradventure, not possible to be effected, if the enemy be still master of the field, and cut off our men as they go about to levy sustenance, which they may do, and yet not able to beat up our quarters. I have hitherto supported this army by the loans and contributions, for the most part, of the parishes of Leeds, Halifax, and

Bradford, and some other small clothing towns adjacent, being the only well-affected people of the country, who, I much fear, may now suffer by this popish army of the North, merely for their good affection to the religion and public liberty. Out of the rest of the country I was not able to draw any considerable help, the enemy having garrisons in so many places, who threatened to ruin any that should assist the Parliament and the cause with money or other helps. My lords, in sum, the state of this country is thus: the enemy is mighty and master of the field, plentifully supplied from his majesty and the papists, and malignant parties, with money and all necessaries. The well-affected party, as now it is divided, not considerable, the aid from Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and other counties very uncertain, the want of money here such as will force us to disband within ten days; and if the enemy once become absolute master of Yorkshire, they will force contributions and succours from the country, which will raise a very formidable army, and put the whole cause in peril, if God do not miraculously defend it. I beseech your lordships seriously to consider it, and send such speedy supplies of men and money as will enable me to go forward in the service, which I shall not fail to do with a constant fidelity. Your lordships have heretofore assigned 2000*l.* for our succour, but the most part of it is still at London, where it lieth for want of exchange or convoy. And therefore what shall now be sent must come either by sufficient convoy of forces by land, or else by sea to Hull, and so hither to me. The Scottish officers are now come hither yesterday, but now we are so straitened that we can have no men resort to us to put under command, nor have we money to pay them. The further relation of these affairs I shall leave to Captain Hatcher, who follows these letters, purposely

to give a true relation to the House of these affairs, and hath been an eye-witness of most of the passages in this country, from the first raising of arms: to whose further expression I shall leave it, with addition only, that if the country or cause suffer, your lordships will discern, by this relation, in whom the default hath been, and impute it accordingly; for nothing hath been omitted possible to be effected by your lordships' most faithful and humble servant,

F. Fairfax.

Selby, December 10*th*, 1642.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE FORCES IN THE NORTH, THESE.

My Lord,

I am commanded by the House of Commons to give your lordship thanks for your care, vigilance, and activeness in opposing that Popish army commanded by the Earl of Newcastle, and, according to your lordship's desire, the House hath appointed 20,000*l.* for the payment of your army, whereof 10,000*l.* they intend to pay presently (though money at this time is very scant with them), and the other 10,000*l.* shall be prepared for you with all possible speed. They likewise approve of your lordship's billetting your soldiers on that county (upon the case of extreme necessity), and have engaged the public faith of the kingdom for the repayment thereof, as by the enclosed order, under the clerk's hand. You may perceive the committee for the northern parts are using all possible care and diligence to supply your lordship with arms; and the House is resolved likewise to hasten the supplies of foot and horse, to enforce your lordship's army, that so, by God's blessing upon all our endeavours,

WILLIAM LENTHALL.

Master of the Rolls and Speaker of the House of Commons

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY S. COOPER, FORMERLY IN THE COLLECTION

AT STRAWBERRY HILL.

that army of Papists may be suppressed before the total ruin of the country where now they are.

Your lordship's very loving friend,

WM. LENTHALL,

December 23rd, 1642. *Speaker.*

The Fairfaxes were now committed, life and fortune, to the cause. The eldest son, Sir Thomas, who had been knighted two years before in the Scotch war, was appointed General of the Horse under his father, who had already twice summoned home from foreign service his only remaining son, Charles, as appears from the following letter. The first summons, it seems, was not very peremptory. The second was decisive, unhappily for the son, who returned to England, joined his father's forces, and was killed at the battle of Marston Moor.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS LOVING FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN YORK, OR ELSEWHERE, THESE HUMBLE PRESENTS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

Two days ago I received your lordship's letter, dated from Denton, the 18th of August. I shall not seek now for leave to go over before I hear again from your lordship what I should do. Mr. Strickland who was sent by the Parliament over hath had audience of the States, but not openly, which was forbidden him by reason the Queen of England had spoke before to the States, that they would not hearken to his message; notwithstanding his coming doth very much good for the Parliament. Here is like to be much troubles in these parts, now a beginning and likely to increase,

if the distempers in England continue. The interest of these countries depends upon the welfare of England because of our religion and laws; it is much feared here that if the government in England be changed, these countries will also be debarred of their ancient customs. These States are jealous of the Prince of Orange, that by his means both ammunition and monies should have been sent to our King. The States hath lately arrested some ships which were going over for England with ammunition. My Lord Benerweart, Serjeant-Major General of our army, hath desired of every English company three men, which are granted him; there goes an English captain and a lieutenant with them to the King's army, but I think they will be stayed before they can be ready to go over, by the States, who will have notice of them. There is an ambassador come the other day to the Hague, out of England, from the King. To-day I hear the Prince's Leaguer is broken up, and is coming to garrison; some of the Queen of England's attendants have much offended by their uncivil behaviours; the principal of them is Mr. Garmaine, and they are taken notice of over all these lands. Commending my prayers to God for your lordship, I humbly take leave.

Your lordship's obedient son,

CHARLES FAIRFAX.

From Clineyard, this 8th of September, 1642.

I humbly intreat of your lordship send not over for me this winter; that your lordship please to give order to Mr. Nevell to send me some cloth for a suit of clothes this winter. When your lordship writes over to me, your lordship may direct the letter to Mr. Dolphin's house, in Dorte, at the sign of the Swan, by the Kiddikes port, which will be a better way than to Rotterdam, because it is nearer.

In the meanwhile the battle of Edgehill had taken place, and several skirmishes, with a most fluctuating fortune; and Sir Thomas, diligently executing his trust in the clothing districts, was already growing impatient to raise the country, but prudently delayed for orders from his father. The following letter is dated from the scene of his first action, Bradford, where, against more than double his numbers, and the advantages of the ground, he compelled the King's troops to draw off to Leeds:

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THESE parts grow very impatient of our delay in beating them out of Leeds and Wakefield, for by them all trade and provisions are stopped, so that the people in these clothing towns are not able to subsist, and, indeed, so pressing are these wants, as some have told me, if I would not stir with them, they must rise of necessity of themselves in a thing of so great importance. I thought it fit to acquaint you with it, to desire your lordship's advice, before I would undertake it; therefore humbly desire your lordship not to defer this business, but, if no aid can come to us, then to give us advice, and order what to do, for long this country cannot subsist; and to raise the country to assault the enemy, I would not do it, without your lordship's consent, being only commanded to defend the parts from them. I desire, with all speed, this bearer may bring us your lord-

ship's resolution. I am sure I shall have above six hundred muskets, if I summons the country to come in, besides 3000 and more with other weapons, that would rise with us. If your lordship please to give me power to join with the readiness of the people, I doubt not but, by God's assistance, to give your lordship a good account of what we do. So, humbly desiring your blessing, I will ever be

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Bradford, January 9th, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

All circumstances considered, the letter is abundantly hopeful. Sir Thomas and his father had a serious responsibility placed upon them with grievously inadequate means. Their forces were numerically, and indeed in every other way, inferior to the royalists; the officers were inexperienced; the soldiers were ill paid, sometimes not paid at all; provisions and munitions were scarce; and there were traitors amongst their foremost men—the greatest calamity of all. On the other hand, the Royalists were well officered, liberally provided, better disciplined, and had with them the prestige and traditions of the kingly authority, "a tower of strength" in itself. This state of things accounts for the diffidence and incertitude of Sir Thomas's movements during this period. After the action at Bradford, he was joined by Captain Hotham with three troops of dragoons, and advancing upon Leeds, found that the enemy had evacuated the town at his approach. Some collisions subsequently took

place at Wetherby and Tadcaster, and towards the end of the month he took the town of Leeds, which was hotly disputed by Sir William Savile. The next letter is an acknowledgment of his father's approbation of his conduct on that occasion :

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT SELBY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE good success it hath pleased God to give my weak endeavours hath only proceeded from his goodness, to whom I desire the honour may redound, and if your lordship hath received any satisfaction by it I am rewarded with what I desire. I am at Wakefield now, but I return this day to Leeds. I found here when I came great numbers of people in the town, who by Capt. Winge's good government and care, whom I had sent thither to keep the town, kept them from doing much hurt by pillaging. According to your lordship's order, Sir William Fairfax, of Steeton, stays there to command, and if it be well looked to, I believe 4000*l.* will easily be raised out of that town. Some of these forces I intend to send to Pomfret to quarter in the town, the Castle hath not above eighty men in it and it cannot annoy those in the town; the possessing ourselves of that place would open a free passage to Hull which would be a great benefit to these towns, and some terror to the enemy to see us go on; but I desire your lordship to excuse me that I do this without order from your lordship, but you may send them back again to-morrow if you please. If they lie there because they have no money, it will be good if your lordship think it

fit to allow the guides free billet, yet all plunder forbid. So very near, your lordship may make good use of them. Capt. Hotham intends to go to Doncaster this day. When he saw your lordship's order, he called for pen and ink to copy it out, it seemed by his peevish humour to have taken some advantage by it, but he did not. No order will be observed by him but what he please, unless some order be to restrain him; if he will be accountable for 6000*l.*, which I believe he may raise in those parts and bring it in to the public stock, as we shall give an account what we raise in our own quarters, he may be allowed to take the employment. If we could join all our forces, your lordship might resolve of some notable design, but Leeds, Wakefield, and other places doth so view our strength as we can do little; for this I shall attend your lordship's further order. I thank your lordship for thinking of sending Capt. Bladen to me. I have great need of one to assist me, having many things heavy upon me, and being grown within these few days more unhealthful than I was; if your lordship could send us more arms we could arm the country with them, for strangers being restrained of their will are very mutinous. I think to send the convoy which came from Selby back to-morrow. So humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I rest

Your lordship's humble and most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Wakefield, January 27th, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

It is evident from the allusion to Captain Hotham that there was a discordance somewhere. Who should have suspected that treason, which the quick eye of Fairfax had already discerned, was growing up here. The Hothams, probably, thought that, after the business at

Hull, a trust of higher responsibility ought to have been reposed in them, and were unwilling to be placed under the command of others, especially this young Fairfax, who was now only in his thirty-first year. Lord Essex, the generalissimo, no doubt thinking these expectations reasonable, appointed Captain Hotham to the post of Lieutenant-general; a step which he may have afterwards looked back upon with some misgivings when he was himself superseded by the Parliament to make way for Sir Thomas Fairfax. This Lord Essex was the son of the favourite, and had joined the Parliament in a fit of resentment against the King, because his majesty refused to grant him the command of the forest of Medwood. The appointment of Captain Hotham is formally announced in a subsequent communication from Commissary Copley :—

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF ALL THE FORCES, &c., IN THE NORTH PARTS, AT SELBY, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

I find myself no way deceived in my confidence of your lordship's zeal to promote the good of your country of which you are a great patriarch, and so God owns you by many earnests of his favour in giving you victories upon the common enemy, the last of which came to my hands by Mr. Copley and was right welcome to me, as also those assurances he gives me of a happy concordance betwixt your lordship, Sir John Hotham, and his son Captain Hotham, to

which purpose I have herewith inclosed sent you instructions to be observed by you all for the future regulating of business with you, to which I doubt not you will freely condescend, as being the only way under God to carry on your affairs to public advantage.

My lord, what I do herein is no way to lessen you, but to keep on our business in such a course as through God's blessing may make it prosper to further success, and give way for present to some things which might else bring on greater inconveniencies. As your lordship is wise in all things, so I must say you are truly noble in quitting private interests for public advantage; go on and the Lord will prosper you. My lord, I send you herewith also a list of names who I desire should constantly stand for a council of war with you; leaving to that council power to add more as occasion may require, and shall be voted by the major part of them. I do this in respect of the Lincolnshire forces, and those under my Lord Gray and others; who when they come will expect to be of the council of war. I have already written to the Lord Gray, and into Lincolnshire, to march into your county and to join with you, that whilst fear possesseth the enemy you may fall upon them at York, or wheresoever they now quarter, and if it be possible seize the convoy they expect should bring their money and ammunition from Newcastle.

My lord, as your hearty pursuit of the instructions I send will abundantly honour you in the opinion of all good men, so in particular will very much oblige me to remain,

Your lordship's faithful friend,

ESSEX.

Windsor, January 31*st*, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

A LIST OF NEW OFFICERS OF HORSE AND FOOT.

Horse.—Lord Fairfax, Major Butler, Colonel Windsor, Lord Brandon, Earl of Dalkeith, Earl of Warwick, Admiral of the Fleet.

Foot.—Sir Richard Atkins, Sir Arthur Chichester, Colonel Clint, Colonel Edgworth, Colonel Fox, (attended the Commission who tried the King); Colonel Harrington, Colonel Pack, Colonel Hamilton, Colonel Freak, Trenchard, Norcoate, Lord Mountjoy, Blaney, (1646, taken prisoner by the Rebels in Ireland); Shelborn, Charlemont, Colonel Ross, Colonel Smith.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, AT SELBY, YORKSHIRE, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

I was commanded to intimate to your lordship that his Excellency forgot to express in his letter to your lordship his desire your lordship should give Captain Hotham a commission for lieutenant-general under your lordship, and that he hath written to Captain Hotham to accept it from your lordship, and go on with your lordship in a hearty compliance for the future. I perceive my lord General accounted himself much engaged to you, for that you was so willing to be bound by him. I represented the business as it truly stood, with several notes of every your expressions how far you was willing to subscribe if it came commended from him, out of which he hath caused the enclosed instructions to be made and sent, with a note of names for a council of war, who, though they are more in number, yet being Colonels, and men now deeply engaged in the country with

you, he thought they would expect it. My lord, I procured my lord to write to the men at Manchester, Sir William Brewerton and Sir John Gell, whose letter I have here enclosed, and do entreat your lordship would cause them to be sent, that they give your lordship assistance as soon as possibly they can, with their forces, as also my Lord Grey and those in Lincolnshire. My lord, if your lordship please to enjoin me any service here, I am

Your lordship's faithful kinsman and servant,

LIONEL COPLEY.

London, Feb. 1st, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

It will be seen that the Earl of Essex praises the "zeal" of Lord Fairfax, but says nothing about his ability or the difficulties of his situation. It is plain enough that this acknowledgment of his "zeal" is only a courteous hint of want of confidence in his judgment, which he further testifies in a way that cannot be mistaken, by the appointment of a council of officers to assist him. If the Earl of Essex had really desired to break down the zeal he applauded so much, this was an excellent way to do it. A general, in circumstances so new and harassing, and laden with such heavy responsibility, requires, above all things, to be assured of the confidence and support of those who are placed in authority above him. But Fairfax, (who was otherwise by no means the fittest man for such a position) in addition to the discontents and inefficiency of an ill-paid and worse disciplined army, had also to fight against the consciousness that his difficulties were not properly appre-

ciated, while his power to cope with them was seriously crippled. The multitude of advisers had the effect of weakening the influence of the General, and producing disastrous divisions of opinion. Sir Thomas Fairfax himself, notwithstanding all his brilliant successes, had occasion to make the same complaint towards the close of the war. "My commission as General," he tells us, "obliged me to act with council; but the arbitrary and unlimited power of this council would act without a General: and all I could do was ineffectual to oppose them; especially when the Parliament itself became divided." *

That the Parliamentary Committee of Safety entertained a juster sense of Lord Fairfax's services, and entered more heartily into his circumstances, than the Earl of Essex, is evident from the following letters:

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

We have been made acquainted by Mr. White, with a desire of your lordship's, to be resolved what companies your lordship shall pay out of the monies now sent down unto you. We conceive that the sense of the House is, that your lordship shall cause payment from time to time to be made unto all the companies and troops, both foot and horse, which are, or shall be under your command, as monies shall be supplied unto you. And that for the present out of the money now sent down, payment shall be made both to the

* A Short Memorial.

Lincolnshire troops, and also unto the Hull forces, which are actually in the service under your command; for it is conceived that it will be a very great occasion of discontent in your lordship's army, should not an equal hand be observed by way of payment.

Your lordship we hope needs not to doubt but that such a continued supply will be made by the Parliament. Care for your army, that (by God's assistance) your lordship will not hereafter be put to wrestle with such difficulties as have now been forced upon you. My lord, we acknowledge that the Commonwealth oweth much, not only to your lordship's valour and fidelity to the cause, but also, to that noble and prudent moderation which you have used to its advantage, in so gently handling those wounds which have been made amongst your forces. Your lordship may be ascertained by us that the House hath fixed a serious apprehension upon the particulars of your lordship's letter, and are and will be so tender of all things which may concern your lordship's house, that you must not fail of a just and seasonable satisfaction. This is all that we have to present to your lordship, save that we ever shall remain,

Your lordship's affectionate friends and servants.

My Lord,—I was appointed by Mr. Pierpoynt, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Pym, to draw a letter to this effect to your lordship, and they would subscribe it. I showed it to Sir Philip, and Mr. Pym, who approved of it as their sense, but by reason the Commissary Copley came so suddenly away, I could not get them together to have their hands to it.

Your lordship's servant,

William White.

The Close Committee, February 1st.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES.

My Lord,

The Houses of Parliament, since you have been employed by them, are very sensible of the great services your lordship hath done them, and by us do return thanks for the same. They understand, by your lordship's letter of the 2nd of this instant, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, the state of your army since your last encounter with the enemy; and they do much approve of your ingenuity in representing the same, and are applying all their powers to furnish you with moneys and arms, and will instantly send to the L.-General to make provision to furnish you with six or eight troops of horse. And that you may know how much your preservation is taken to heart, the House of Commons has this day taken order to provide the other 10,000*l.* promised you, one thousand whereof is this day put into the hands of Mr. White, and the rest shall be paid with all speed. We therefore continue our requests that your lordship will use your utmost care and vigilance to preserve those parts you are in, being so considerable, as it may be a means to secure Lancashire and Cheshire, and to regain the lost parts of Yorkshire and the rest of the northern counties. My lord, within a day or two you shall hear more particularly from us by an express. In the meantime we wish your lordship all success, and rest

Your lordship's very loving friends,
and humble servants,

Pembroke & Mont. Salisbury.
L. N. Howard. H. Vanys.
Gilbt. Gerrard. Hollande.
Jo. Pym.

April 13, 1643.

During the past year, up to this time, nothing remarkable had been done on either side. Skirmishes and battles with variable issue had hitherto produced no important results. All that can be gathered from the next batch of letters is, that the movements of the Parliamentary forces were rendered very irregular from want of proper co-operation, perhaps of insubordination; and that there was a possibility of the cause being sacrificed to the pretensions of inferior officers, who considered themselves qualified to judge what was best to be done in their own localities, without reference to unity of action or the general safety.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE ARMY.

May it please your Lordship,

I do not know whether your lordship sent any order to stay the Lancashire companies, yet upon the intelligence from you of the enemy's return to Wakefield, I sent to intreat their stay yet awhile. This town is very weak by reason many are gone to defend Ambry, and those parts; but I hear Captain Ratliffe is revolted to the enemy, and most of his company, if not all the other company, being not strong enough, retired to Elam; there Captain Morgan, who hath raised some dragoons, joins with them for the defence of those parts this day; some of Peniston men came also to demand aid, their being seventeen colours in Barnesley, five miles of them. I advised them to seek help from Rotherham and Sheffield, and whilst they

stood upon their guards to get their goods to places of most safeguard, for it will be impossible without more horse to defend the country from spoil. I desire your lordship, if you can spare an engineer, to send one hither, having some works necessary to be done speedily. The enemy lies strong at Wakefield, but I shall have an eye on them, and doubt not but by God's assistance to keep this place safe. So humbly desiring your blessing, I remain,

Your lordship most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Bradford, April 20th, 1643.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I RECEIVED your letter, and do intend to fulfil your commands with all expedition. I am now marched up to Nottingham, and Colonel Cromwell's forces with me; here is Lord Gray come too, and this day we expect Sir John Gell; Sir William Brereton hath order to draw down to us, then we shall be strong. The Manchester forces have orders to draw down to you, and furnish you with what you want. I shall endeavour all I can to join with you, or otherwise to distress the enemy. Our misery is, we know not where his force lies, nor in what condition he is. I shall desire to have some information from you on that point, and I shall not fail to endeavour that which may be best for the public service, and will ever remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN HOTHAM.

Nottingham, May 24th, 1643.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THESE PRESENT AT LEEDS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WE were even ready to march with all the forces here to attend you, when we had certain intelligence of the state of my Lord Newcastle's army, so weak and in such a distraction, that we conceive it far unfit to force your lordship in your quarters. We had certain notice likewise that a good strength of horse and foot were marched from him to Newark, to face and attend the moving of the forces that are here. Upon Tuesday last there was towards forty troops of horse and dragooners appeared in a body some four miles from this place; and we hear behind them stood their foot. We drew out to fight them; but they had chosen such a ground as we could not come to them without great disadvantage. At night they drew away, and are still within six or seven miles hovering up and down the country. Until we see what these people intend, or which way my Lord Newcastle will move, we think it best to stay here, and not to draw down into Yorkshire, to eat up that small remainder of provisions that is left, and by that means do your lordship more prejudice than the enemy can do. This we thought fit to offer to your consideration; and if, notwithstanding all this, you shall think it fit for us to move towards you, it shall be readily done by your lordship's humble servants,

JOHN GELL, JOHN HOTHAM,
OLI. CROMWELL, MI. HOOBERT,
THO. GREY.

Nottingham, June 2nd, 1643.

The last letter is in the hand-writing of Captain John Hotham, and is sealed with his seal. The signatures of the rest are added in their own hands. Lord Fairfax appears to have attached some importance to this communication, having folded it up carefully and endorsed it, "2 June, the Lord Grey, Captain Hotham, &c." Whether Lord Fairfax had any grounds at this time for suspecting the honesty of Hotham is not certain; but the following rapid and decisive answer, commanding the officers, notwithstanding their objections, to join him at once, looks very like a distrust of their intentions. He had just finished a letter to them as the communication from Hotham reached his hands.

"After I had concluded this letter, I received yours, dated 2nd June. I do, notwithstanding all the objections and difficulties therein represented, desire that as you tender the public safety, you draw down this day with all the forces you have, and join with me to suppress this Popish army here, which else, whatsoever report gives it out to you, is of power, without God's miraculous deliverance, to destroy our force, and so by degrees to ruin the kingdom."

That the Hothams were meditating treason at this moment is beyond question, and that Captain Hotham regarded the war as a mere marauding expedition, and thought only of how he could make the best terms and the most plunder, the issues of a few days substantially proved. Less than three weeks after the date of this

letter to Lord Fairfax, we find Mr. Pym, in the House of Commons, detailing the extraordinary ill conduct of this gentleman: how he plundered various persons, without reference to their party; how on one occasion he turned his cannon against Cromwell, who belonged to his detachment, and who may be supposed to have protested against his proceedings; how he was in the habit of getting up unseemly brawls amongst the troops; and how he corresponded with the enemy, especially with the Queen, who, by this time, had returned from Holland.

The evidence on these points was decisive, and Captain Hotham was taken in his bed, and imprisoned in Nottingham Castle; but he managed to make his escape, and was foolish enough to take refuge in Hull, with his father, who was himself plotting the surrender of the town to the Royalists. Secret information of this design having been conveyed to the Mayor, the townspeople quietly assembled in the night, and seizing the magazine, the ordnance, and the guards, made themselves masters of the place, without shedding a drop of blood. Sir John, the Governor, scared out of his sleep by this sudden action, which hardly consumed the space of an hour, fled out of his house in a state of utter dismay, and meeting a man riding into the town, he made him alight, and mounting the horse, galloped for his life into the open country, through the Beverly gate;—that gate which, but a few months before, was the scene of the one great luminous incident of his life, and now the witness of his total ruin and disgrace. At

such a time, it was indispensable to the safety of all other men that traitors should suffer for their guilt; and the justice of the Parliament in such cases was swift and sure. In the depth of that winter the Hothams were tried for the crimes they had committed during the long days of the summer, and in the ensuing January they were executed on Tower Hill.

At the end of June, Lord Fairfax, having succeeded in getting his troops together, intercepted the progress of the Earl of Newcastle, and gave him battle on Adderton Moor. The result was disastrous to the Parliament, whose troops were completely routed and compelled to fall back upon Bradford, and hunted from thence into Hull, which had just been vacated by Sir John Hotham. But failures were so rapidly balanced by victories, that there was hardly time to calculate between them. Parliament, however, found leisure to recognise and reward the activity and endurance of Lord Fairfax, wisely availing themselves of this opportunity to appoint him governor of Hull.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE FORCES RAISED IN THE NORTHERN PARTS, AND GOVERNOR OF HULL.

My Lord,

I have communicated your letter, of the 5th of July, unto the House, who have commanded me to let your

lordship know, that as they have always been sensible of your many and worthy services, so are they now not without a deeper resentment of your late sufferings, whereof they will be ready to give your lordship a full testimony by their constant endeavours to assist you in the great employment you have undertaken for the suppressing of that Popish army which hath so maliciously, and by so many unworthy and barbarous proceedings, invaded the true religion and sincere worship of Almighty God, the safety of his Majesty, and the tranquillity of his kingdoms, in the prosecution of these honourable designs, so much tending to the settling of these present distractions. I am commanded to let you know, and to give all assurance that this House will never desert you, but, upon all occasions, extend their uttermost power and authority both to accommodate you with all necessaries suitable to so great undertakings, and to protect your lordship against the opposition and malignity of all those incendiaries, from whose oppression and cruelties they hope your lordship's wisdom and courage will be a sanctuary and refuge to many of his Majesty's distressed and most loyal subjects in the northern parts. And for the better securing thereof they have, with the concurrence of the lords, appointed your lordship to be Governor of Hull, whereby they conceive your lordship will be very much enabled to proceed in these weighty affairs with much advantage, by the access of that strong garrison to your lordship's army. I am likewise to let you understand that they have been frequently informed of the carriage and deportment of your son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his command, so full of valour and honour, for which this House will be ever ready to give to him and the rest of the commanders all due encouragement, as opportunity shall be

offered. And thus, wishing your lordship all prosperity and safety, I rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

WM. LENTHALL,

Speaker.

Westminster, July 19th, 1643.

THE ORDINANCE OF LORDS AND COMMONS FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX TO BE GOVERNOR OF HULL.

THE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, upon the assured confidence and trust which they have and do repose in the wisdom, valour, and fidelity of the right honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, do ordain, declare, and appoint that the said Lord Fairfax shall be governor of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, in the place and stead of Sir John Hotham, knight and baronet, for securing of the said town and the magazines there; and that he shall and may command the said town, and the forces therein, and have the like power that the said Sir John Hotham had; and that all persons whom it doth or may concern shall give their obedience unto the said Lord Fairfax and his emissaries; and that the said Lord Fairfax, or who else he shall appoint under him, shall not deliver up the town of Hull, or magazines there, or any part thereof, without the King's authority signified unto him by both Houses of Parliament. And the said Lords and Commons do further ordain and declare that the said Lord Fairfax shall have the like power and allowance of soldiers, both of horse and foot, for the defence of the said town, and the like pays and allowances for himself, his officers, and soldiers, as the said Sir John Hotham, his officers, and soldiers formerly had; and shall and may at his

will and pleasure place and displace the officers and soldiers of the said garrison, so as to him shall seem most necessary for the defence and safety of the said town.

Jo. Browne, H. Elsynge, } *Cler. Parl.*

Die Sabbthd, 22nd July, 1643.

In other places the King's troops were actively engaged beating up the Parliament quarters, and her Majesty, who had recently returned from Holland, was making a sort of military progress to meet the King, with whom she fell in at Edgehill, the memorable spot where he had fought his first battle in arms against the people. About the same time Hampden was killed at Chalgrave Field, and Waller's Plot, as it is called, was detected. Some of these incidents are alluded to in the following gossiping letter :

DR. WILSON TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Noble Sir,

The last week your letter came so late, that I had no opportunity to return you thanks for so great a favour, nor must you now expect any other than *jejune* expressions, according to the nature of our monthly solemnity, which falls out upon this very day. Your candour, therefore, must take for current coin the deep apprehension I have of so undeserved an honour. The truth is, my patience is nearly worn out to stay seven hours in a church, my ears being guilty of scarce three words of sense, and my only comfort that I had like to have starved in a great audience.

This next day being Thursday, Mr. Waller and the rest are to come to their trial in Guildhall, where I believe the delinquents would find mercy enough, if the fear of tumult did not urge their judges to some exemplary severity. Our army's pause makes no good harmony in the citizens' opinions; and Colonel Hampden's death revives the memory of my Lord Brooke's funeral. I know not what news to write, unless that we have continual collections for distressed Ireland, and our own maimed soldiers. It is supposed that many salve up the ruins of their estates out of their wounds. The House of Commons are now perfecting the proof of their articles against the Queen; and the report is that the King hath declared this Parliament not to be free, and therefore to have invited the members thereof to Oxford; whereupon our Lords are much incensed. What Sir William Waller or Brereton do with their forces we cannot yet understand.

Certainly I think we may better refer ourselves to Paris for news than take it up at London. Let not these times make you fall out with chess, for kings and queens may in time come again in fashion: however, let that keep up their memory. As for bishops, I must confess I think that here they will scarce ever recover any other notion, than what that game in France affords them; for their subversion seems to be the chief fuel of these desperate troubles.

I have not had the happiness to see your father a long time, nor your brother this fortnight. Next Friday I purpose to wait upon them at Deptford. I much rejoice to hear of any hopes of your wife's so complete a cure, and should account myself infinitely happy to see the accomplishment. Pray present her with my most humble respects, and tell her from me as a prognostic, that her own resolution will be her best remedy. If Mr. Batty be with you still, he may take notice

that I have received my lancets, and for the same, with many thanks and my best service, remain his debtor. The other day I met my Lord Downes, and —— at Piccadilly, the quondam owner of the Diamond Ring, a day after, who is fitting out his ship for the last year's voyage. The gentleman is almost out of conceit with his fortune at picquet. Sir, I confine myself to the limits of my paper, and request you to honour me still with your wonted favours, and esteem me,

Your must humble servant.

Winston is cashiered of his Gresham fellowship, and Dr. De Laen put in his room.

Mr. Greene was with me yesterday in the afternoon, and he is resolved, so soon as he can get a letter from the King to you, to come over to you.*

London, 29th June, 1643.

It cannot be concealed that affairs were not so prosperous with the Parliamentary forces as their patience and energy deserved. An appeal to the gentlemen of Huntingdonshire, from the Committee of the Associated Counties, sitting at Cambridge, shows to what extremities they were driven, and how near to dissolution they were reduced for want of money :

GENTLEMEN,

WE are in great strait, being constrained for our security to guard Huntingdon with some companies, the

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

enemy making many sallies out upon our frontier, coming down to Peterborough this last night, as we are informed by our scouts, and since sent to us by our committee at Huntingdon. We have, according to the resolution of the Committee of the House of Commons for our association, a rule of proportion upon every county for what monies we want; and have sent unto them for 4000*l.*, which, according to the proportion by them agreed, (which herein we send you,) makes your proportion amount to the sum of eight-score pounds, which sum we pray you to send us with all speed, for the payment of our forces herein and at Huntingdon, and discharging of our necessary dues. For we are debarred of raising any monies, the ordinance of Parliament limiting the raising of monies by the particular committees in their several counties. Then if you shall not speedily send us, our garrison will disband, our forces will be possessed by the enemies, and ten special pieces of ordnance will be turned upon you and us, and repentance will be too late. A word to the wise is enough. Here we send you the several sums brought into our treasury since we began out of the several counties, and the sums disbursed, and what we owe, whereby you may see what the proportion in expense is since our sitting in Cambridge. You shall be sure, if God permit, and we by your means be enabled to be kept together, to give you a true account of your several sums which we shall receive from time to time from you. Gentlemen, seriously consider the necessity of keeping this Committee together, and supplying money for such forces as they need, (which we hope shall be with all the best care we can, for the security of the charge and benefit of the several counties,) as a means of the greatest concernment to all the Association. Pardon the length of our lines, on account of those who desire not to serve them-

selves, but the kingdom, our country, yourselves more than themselves, and shall not fail to rest,

Your assured friends,

JOHN KING.	JOHN PALGRAVE.
THOMAS PARKER.	FRANC. JERMYN.
JAMES THOMPSON.	JNO. EDEN.
JOHN BREWSTER.	SAMUEL READE.

Eight hundred men we desire of the whole Association: your proportion is thirty-two men.

Further, we are to inform you that Mr. Thomas Corey being to pay long since 30*l.* into the treasury here, for which Mr. Greenwood, your sheriff, is security, we do expect that he will send up the same accordingly, whereof we entreat you will be pleased to give them notice.

Gentlemen, we have received this comfort, that by a party of horse sent to Peterborough we have discovered that the enemy is retreated.*

Cambridge, the 17th of June, 1643.

Here follows a curious relic in Cromwell's handwriting, much to the same effect, urging, with a full heart, the youth of Huntingdon to contribute muscles and money to the common cause, and to supply horse troops as the chief necessity:

COLONEL CROMWELL'S LETTER TO THE BACHELORS AND MAIDS, 2ND AUGUST, 1643, FROM HUNTINGDON.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by these gentlemen the good affections of your young men and maids, for which God is to be

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

praised. I approve of the business, only I desire to advise you that your foot company may be turned into a troop of horse, which, indeed, will (by God's blessing) far more advantage the cause than two or three companies of foot, especially if your men be honest, godly men, which by all means I desire. I thank God for stirring up the youth to cast in their mite, which I desire may be employed to the best advantage; therefore my advice is, that you would employ your twelve-score pounds to buy pistols and saddles, and I will provide four-score horses; for 400*l.* more will not raise a troop of horse. As for the muskets that are bought, I think the country will take them of you. Pray raise honest, godly men, and I will have them of my regiment. As for your officers, I leave it as God shall or hath directed to choose, and rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

August 2nd, 1643.

Cromwell had lately gained what he termed "a notable victory" at Gainsborough, but in the following interesting letter to the Cambridge Committee (who, as we have seen, were not to blame for the straits to which the army were reduced), he shows how uncertain all prospects were in that direction, and how grievously the troops were neglected by those whose duty it was to provide for them. This plain speaking, and calling aloud for succour, enabled the committee to send the echo of the crying want back to Parliament with redoubled force.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

TO MY HONOURED FRIENDS THE COMMISSIONERS AT CAMBRIDGE, THESE PRESENT.

GENTLEMEN,

FINDING our foot much lessened at Stamford, and having a great train and many carriages, I held it not safe to continue there, but presently after my return from you, I ordered the foot to quit that place and march into Holland, which they did on Monday last. I was the rather induced so to do because of the letter I received from my Lord Willoughby, a copy whereof I sent you. I am now at Peterborough, whither I came this afternoon. I was no sooner come but Lieutenant Colonel Wood sent me word, from Spalding, that the enemy was marching with twelve flying colours of horse and foot within a mile of Swinstead, so that I hope it was a good providence of God that our foot were at Spalding; it much concerns your association and the kingdom that so strong a place as Holland is be not possessed by them; if you have any foot ready to march, send them away to us with all speed. I fear lest the enemy should press in upon our foot; he being thus far advanced towards you, I hold it very fit that you should hasten your horse at Huntingdon and what you can speedily raise at Cambridge unto me. I dare not go into Holland with my horse, lest the enemy should advance with his whole body of horse this way into your association, but am ready endeavouring to get my Lord Gray's and the Northamptonshire horse to me, that so, if we be able, we may fight the enemy, or retreat unto you with our whole strength. I beseech you hasten your leavers, what you can, especially those of foot; quicken all our friends with new letters upon this occasion, which I believe you will find to be a true alarm: the parti-

culars I hope to be able to inform you speedily of more punctually, having sent in all haste to Colonel Wood for that purpose. The money I brought with me is so poor a pittance when it comes to be distributed amongst all my troops that, considering their necessity, it will not half clothe them, they were so far behind; if we have not more money speedily they will be exceedingly discouraged. I am sorry you put me to it to write thus often, it makes it seem a needless importunity in me; whereas, in truth, it is a constant neglect of those that should provide for us. Gentlemen, make them able to live and subsist that are willing to spend their blood for you. I say no more, but rest

Your faithful servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

August 8th, 1643.

The same language is held everywhere with greater and lesser eagerness; and amidst this universal clamour, threatening disorganisation and rupture, we find the Fairfaxes, father and son, steadily pursuing their objects, moving up and down the country through risks and perils of no common magnitude, and keeping their breath for action, while most others are expending theirs in murmurs and complaints. At Bradford, Sir Thomas Fairfax, besieged by the Earl of Newcastle, cut his passage through the Royalists, and made good his way to Leeds. On this occasion his wife was taken prisoner. Finding Leeds in the utmost disorder, he fled towards Hull, and on his way defended the ferry at Selby, while his father crossed the river. Calamities accumulated

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

upon him. He was shot in the wrist, and from the fatigues of this dreadful retreat nearly lost his daughter, then only five years old, afterwards Duchess of Buckingham. For twenty hours he sat his horse with his wrist shattered. At Burton he lay down, hoping to get a little rest, but was called up in a quarter of an hour by the sudden appearance of the enemy, and had scarcely time to huddle his ordnance on board a ship in the Humber, when the King's troops galloped into the town. In this mangled condition, covered with blood, without a shirt, and his clothes rent, he arrived alive at Hull. A few days afterwards the Earl of Newcastle had the gallantry to send home Lady Fairfax in his own coach, attended by a maid of honour.

The usual horrors of civil war convulsed the country. There was no security against the lawlessness of the soldiery, who availed themselves (on both sides) of the slightest pretexts for entering private houses, and plundering and menacing the inhabitants. A suspicion of disaffection either way, or the possession of arms or gunpowder, was excuse enough for violence and rapine. Unprotected widows, or ladies who were left in charge of mansions and domains, while their husbands were out levying troops, offered irresistible temptation to the scattered parties of half-fed troops that went marauding hungrily over the country. The history of these campaigns is highly coloured with personal incidents, such as that to which the following letter alludes. The writer is the Lord Francis Willoughby, who was

drowned at Barbadoes in 1666, and the lady referred to was the widow of Viscount Castleton, an Irish peer, whose grandson was created a peer of England by the same title in 1714 :

FOR THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, THIS PRESENT.

NOBLE SIR,

THERE is a lady, my lady Casselton, a kinswoman of mine, who hath been frighted by some of your troops that have plundered in her house; there was some powder found there, which I hear she hath much exceptions taken against her for; her lord was a deputy lieutenant, and this powder was of the country's powder which he had, having a command of the Trained Bands. You may see by the being of it there, that she had no intentions against the Parliament, for you know there have been many occasions for her to show her affection. She is a lady, and I know you are civil to all, much more to ladies; only I make this request, in my lady's behalf, she being a widow, and having many things as children and debts of my lord's to look after, that she may have your favour, as not to have any hard opinion of her; but that you would be pleased to be a friend to her in answering, if anything should be informed against her. I will assure you I should not move it, but that I know she is and ever hath been no ill friend of the Parliament; in it you shall oblige me, who am

Your most humble servant,

F. WILLOUGHBY.

Totsall, this 23rd of October.

The Earl of Newcastle (about this time elevated to a marquisate) had now penetrated into Lincolnshire with nearly the whole of his army. His design was to seize Boston, the "key of the Associated Counties," and thence away into Essex to block up London. The Fairfaxes made a diversion at Stanford Bridge, which drew him into Yorkshire, where he sat down before Hull under somewhat hopeless circumstances, the sluices being opened at his approach, and the country flooded for two miles round. While his Lordship of Newcastle was meditating upon this intervention of the waters, the younger Fairfax crossed over into Lincolnshire at the head of a body of horse (useless in besieged Hull) to join the Earl of Manchester. He was eagerly received on landing by Cromwell. The junction of their forces led to the battle of Horncastle, or Winceby Fight, as it is now frequently called. Of this fight we have the following special relation amongst the Fairfax papers :

AN EXACT RELATION OF THE VICTORY OBTAINED BY THE FORCES UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE EARL OF MANCHESTER, AGAINST THE EARL OF NEWCASTLE'S FORCES, IN LINCOLNSHIRE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR JOHN HENDERSON.

Upon the 10th day of October, the Earl of Manchester advanced with his horse and foot from Boston to the towns about Bullingbrooke, in Lincolnshire, with a purpose to take the castle of Bullingbrooke, which did enslave all those parts

of Holland near Teiston. The enemy having taken possession of Wanflet, began there to fortify, intending to make his winter quarters there. Upon the Earl's march into those parts the enemy quitted that pass and upon the 10th day the Earl quartered at Kirkby, within a mile of Bullingbrooke, and quartered his horse six miles up in the country beyond Bullingbrooke; the alarm place for his horse being Horncastle; and sent ten foot companies into the town of Bullingbrooke, under the command of Sir Miles Hubbart, where the enemy had the church fortified, besides the castle. The same day eighty colours of horse and dragoons of the enemy marched from fraising Lincoln and other quarters, and came in a full body towards Horncastle, and marched so fast as they were discovered but two hours before they came to Horncastle; by which means the alarm could not be so speedily given to the horse quarters of the Earl of Manchester, so as to get into a full body before the enemy was at Horncastle. Yet such was the vigilance and industry of the Earl, that he went from his own quarters towards Horncastle upon the first alarm, and got many of his horse into a body at Horncastle town's end. There he stood, and wanting above a twentieth of his troops, he thought it not fit to engage, but fell back into his quarters at Kirkby, that so he might draw up all his forces to an entire body, while those troops he had stood in the alarm-place at Horncastle.

Captain Plaine and Captain Moody, their troops coming from their quarters within seven miles of Lincoln, espied three bodies of the enemy betwixt them and the town of Horncastle, and being ordered to march to the rest of the troops, and having no way to deliver themselves, they charged the first body of the enemy and routed it, and killed many. Then they came to another body, and charged them through,

and so forced their way to the town of Horncastle, without the loss of above eight men. Captain Johnson coming likewise towards the alarm-place, by mistake fell upon a quarter of the enemy, took twelve prisoners and brought off his men without any loss. Captain Johnson and Captain Samuel Moody were under Sir Miles Hubbard's command.

The Earl spent all that night in the field for the better drawing up of his body together against the next morning, when having intelligence that the enemy would march next day to Bullingbrooke for the relief of the castle, the Earl, the next morning, being Wednesday the 12th of October, drew all his horse and foot into battalions upon Bullingbrooke Hill, having a very safe place of retreat into Holland. About twelve of the clock, notice was brought that the enemy was marching within three miles in a full body, whereupon the Earl marched towards them and met them midway upon a plain field, near where the armies faced one another about one hour, and then the forlorn hope had a very sharp encounter, and my Lord Manchester's regiment and Colonel Cromwell's gave their body such a charge as they would not abide a second.

Colonel Cromwell charged at some distance before his regiment, when his horse was killed under him. He recovered himself, however, from under his horse but afterwards was again knocked down, yet by God's good providence he got up again. The enemy's forlorn hope charging ours, and a good body of horse following them, Sir Thomas Fairfax being in the rear of Colonel Cromwell's regiment with his first body, fell in towards the flank of the enemy's body, which they perceiving, the enemy's body broke, and so Sir Thomas had the chase and execution of them a great way. Sir Miles Hubbard's regiments were ready to charge, and the enemy

turning head, our men fell upon them and pursued them four miles, killing them and taking prisoners all the way.

Colonel Carnaby, Colonel Hopton, and divers persons of great quality were slain, whereof many fell in the place of encounter. 1200 were slain, wounded, and taken prisoners, and as the countrymen report, betwixt 100 and 200 drowned in Horncastle river. The Earl pursued the enemy to Horncastle and there quartered for the night. Very many of our men are wounded, but we do not hear of above twenty killed. Let God have all the praise of this victory! Twenty-six colours, which were taken, are brought already to my lord.

While this fight was going on, the roar of cannon was heard at a distance, and the smoke of other guns than those of Winceby was seen gathering upon the heavens. It was from the beleaguered walls of Hull. The elder Fairfax, while his son was heading the reserve of horse at Horncastle, and hunting the dishevelled Royalists into ditches and quagmires, charged out suddenly upon the Earl of Newcastle, and threw him and his troops into such consternation that he fled for York, leaving his ordnance behind him. These events were decisive as far as they went. Lincolnshire was now pretty well cleared of the Array, and Yorkshire held out but a precarious shelter. The Royalists, defeated at the same moment at the two points to which they had directed their main strength, shut themselves up in their quarters, and attempted nothing more that winter.

How these signal successes were effected by an army

in such a condition of bankruptcy is past comprehension. Food and clothing there was little, and sometimes none. Even the officers, unless they could help themselves, were reduced to rags. Yet they kept together and acted together with a devotion quite unparalleled. A petition to Sir Thomas Fairfax from some of his officers, dated about the middle of the December of this year, affords a conclusive illustration of the misery through which this high-mettled zeal survived to show itself in all aspects worthy of its cause :

Noble Sir,

The ardent zeal we have to promote the cause of Almighty God, the great desire we have to enjoy the liberties of our nation, and our hearty affection to your person, have drawn us with unwearied endurance of toils, undauntedness of courage, and unreproveable demeanours, to follow you through divers countries. How the Omnipotent goodness hath showered happy successes upon us, is apparent to all that have seen or heard it. What remuneration we have had, is known only to yourself. And seeing our extreme wants do now urge us, we are bold to present our complaints to you, from whom we look to be supplied; be therefore pleased to take our condition into your consideration, and conceive of us, as men who have lived in a reasonable affluence of all conveniences, and now to be dejected into so deep an exigency it must needs abate our spirits.

If these countries, for whom (by God's providence) we have done so great things, be unwilling to supply us, that we may be enabled to provide clothes for our backs, shoes and other accoutrements for our horses, and some comfortable

refreshing for our bodies, in case God shall please to visit us; that some speedy and effectual course may be taken to compel them thereunto, before we be drawn hence, and if there be no hopes of any recompense, and that we must hazard our lives and fortunes; we rather desire that you would lead us into our own country, (which hath groaned under longer and greater desolations than any in the kingdom,) where we, for the regaining of our estates, the freedom of our country, the flourishing of the Gospel, and the enjoyment of our liberties, will be content with our former unwearied diligence to submit ourselves to your honour's commands.

Will. Long.	John Wildon.
Rich. Stanhope.	Leon. Robinson.
Geo. Smithson.	Tho. Ackland.
Robert Newham.	Matt. Foster.
Thomas Talbot.	Richard Smyth.
Richard Oracroft.	John Marshall.
Thomas Johnson.	Mich. Richardson.
Edward Hayward.	

Upon his own credit, Sir Thomas Fairfax clothed 1500 of his men, nor was he wanting in other sacrifices to encourage them. Having been appointed to a separate command, as General of Cheshire, with its adjacent counties, he found his labours and responsibilities heavily increased, while his resources were more beggarly than ever. In the coldest part of the season, with his men, sick, ill-paid, and half-naked, he was ordered to march for Nantwich, to raise the siege of that town, which was put to great extremity by Lord Byron, at the head of a wild Irish army. In vain he called upon Parliament to

supply the wants of the soldiery. Parliament lacked the means. Thus left to shift for himself, he put his ragged followers into the best condition he could, and in the following letter announced to the committee his intention, in the face of these most adverse circumstances, to set out for Nantwich.

TO MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS, THE COMMITTEE AT STANSFORD, THESE.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM not a little grieved to perceive by yours of December 22nd, that Sir William Brereton is so straitened by the confluence of such potent enemies. His own truly noble deportment and worth, besides the interest of the common cause, do challenge the utmost assistance of the power of any that bear good affection to the public safety. For my own part, though many objections arise from the present condition of the forces under my command, and otherwise, I resolve, if God permit, to begin my march towards his relief within two days at the furthest, and had done so sooner had not the necessary provision of clothes, and other things for my men, retarded my resolution somewhat. My purpose is to march by the way of Leicester, and be there, God willing, about Monday or Tuesday next.

My desire is, that I may by your means receive information which way from thence I may most safely march; what your intelligence is concerning the interposition of the enemy's forces; where it is expected I should fall in with the forces of any of our friends, (for though your letters mention a besieging of Sir William Brereton, they name no place where); and what

else you shall conceive may be most conducible to the expediting of my desires in this service. If you shall think fit thus to send us any further light, the messenger may either meet with or hear of us at Leicester; if not, I desire he should come on further towards my quarters, and I doubt not but he will meet us on our march. Further I shall not now add, but commit the issue of all to the blessing of God, to whose providence in this particular service, and in any other that may advance the public good, there is none more desirous to be instrumental than

Your affectionate friend and servant,

THOS. FAIRFAX.

Sempringham, Dec. 27th, 1643.

In two days after the date of this letter, he was on his way to Nantwich, at the head of 2500 foot, and 28 troops of horse.

1644.

REVERSES AT BOTH SIDES—NANTWICH, NEWARK.

THE SIEGE OF LATHOM HOUSE.

SCATTERED MEMORABILIA, LAMBERT, RANDOLPH CREWE SIR RICHARD BROWNE, JOHN EVELYN.

THE KING'S EXPERIMENTAL TRIP FROM OXFORD, AND BACK AGAIN.

BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.

FLIGHT OF THE QUEEN, AND CLEARANCE OF THE NORTH.

1644.

The winter of 1644 opened with great severity. The same snow, knee-deep, through which the Scots crossed the border, was crushed by the troops of the younger Fairfax on his road to a new triumph. His father still holding Hull, was still the Parliamentary general for the whole of the north; yet the bolder genius of the son had already begun to fill out a larger space in the eyes of the country. Thundering down to the gates of Nantwich, with his raw levy of foot soldiers, and his dragoons in their new suits, he found the town in such a strait of weakness and famine, that it was on the point of surrendering. He had just come in time. Understanding that Lord Byron, who had been apprised of his approach, had drawn out his troops to meet him, he adopted the singular expedient of putting his men into the order in which he intended to fight, and thus continued his march till he came up within cannon-shot of the enemy's works. The battle was of short duration, but most important in its consequences. Lord Byron and his Irish were utterly routed; and the whole body, with the exception of a fragment of horse that escaped to Chester, surrendered themselves in disorder—officers,

men, arms, colours, and ammunition—into the hands of the victors. These Byrons were strenuous supporters of the monarch, and the last and most illustrious of the name has made it a matter of exultation that four brothers of them fell in the royal cause.*

Fairfax thus communicated his hardships and success to his wife :—

FROM SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO LADY FAIRFAX.

Dear Heart,

Though I staid long for an opportunity of writing to you, yet God be thanked I can now have it, with cause of much thankfulness; for a great victory it hath pleased Him to give us over the Irish army, having totally routed their foot, and taken almost all their chief commanders† and inferior ones too, a list of whom I send you here inclosed, and a particular relation to the Lord General‡ of that service. God is to have the glory, who put them so happily into our hands.

I have not yet heard from you since your coming to London, but heard you were safely arrived there. I have endured some hardship since I parted with you, being forced to march and watch night and day this frost and snowy weather. I have much trouble to command these forces I now have,

* "On Marston, with Rupert, 'gainst traitors contending,
Four brothers enriched with their blood the bleak field,
For the rights of a monarch, their country defending,
'Till death their attachment to royalty sealed."—*Hours of Idleness.*

† Amongst them, Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle.

‡ Essex. The "particular relation" will be found in Rushworth. It is dated on the day following the date of this letter. Sir Thomas wrote to his wife first.

there being such divisions amongst the commanders, which doth much impair my health. I desire you to present my humble duty to my Lady Vere. I had no time to write, but by this to make my excuse, and acknowledgment of my great debt for her ladyship's favours. Remember my humble service to all my honourable and noble sisters, and to my sister Elizabeth* and Moll. So, dear heart, farewell.

Your most affectionate husband,

THO. FAIRFAX.

For yourself, dear heart.

Nantwich, Jan. 28th, 1643-4. [*N. S.* 1644.]

Little alleviation of the state of the army appears to have taken place up to this time. Pay was still in arrears, and doled out with uncertainty; and outrages, which no authority, under such circumstances, could wholly restrain, continued to spread dismay through the country. With a view to sustain the zeal of his troops, and keep them in proper condition for the toils that lay before them, Sir Thomas Fairfax submitted the following string of resolutions to the principal officers and gentry of Lancashire:—

* His sister Elizabeth was married to Sir Wm. Craven, of Linchwicke, in Worcestershire. If by Moll is meant his daughter Mary, she was at this time little better than five years old.

SOME PROPOSITIONS WHEREUPON THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS, COLONELS AND OTHER GENTLEMEN OF LANCASHIRE, ARE DESIRED TO ADVISE AND GIVE SPEEDY RESOLUTION.

1. That to supply the present necessity of my body of horse there be speedily procured 4000*l.*, which will not amount to more than a fortnight's pay, and that afterwards the horse and foot being considered as one entire body, be paid proportionably out of the weekly assessments, and otherwise by the public treasurer appointed.

2. That for the more speedy raising of the said sum of 4000*l.* such persons throughout the county as have not advanced upon the possessions, or not proportionable to their estates, be assessed according to the ordinances of Parliament, and in particular that there be presently required and seized, of the persons nominated in a schedule hereunto annexed, the sum of 3000*l.* in a proportionable way.

3. That there be a speedy course taken to raise upon the county in a proportionable way 300 able serviceable horse for the recruiting of my troops.

4. That a particular list be given in of the several companies in the county, as well such as are newly raised, as others, to the end they may be disposed into several regiments, and exercised and commanded out as there shall be occasion.

5. That some way may be contrived to draw out of the several regiments 2000 men that may be actually in service under my command, and move with me out of the county for the public service as there shall be occasion.

6. That that part of Cheshire that by agreement was assigned for the maintaining of the garrison of Warrington, may be returned to be liable to the charge of Cheshire, and that either the garrison be not continued at Warrington, or

if there be cause it should, that it be maintained out of the charge of Lancashire.

7. That it be considered what garrisons are necessary to be maintained in the county, and what number of men are requisite thereunto.

8. That in regard of the late outrages by garrisons at Lathom, some course be thought on to prevent farther mischiefs, and secure the well affected in those parts.

February 15th, 1643, [*N.S.* 1644.]

Lord Byron was lieutenant-general to Prince Rupert, who held the command in this part of the country, and his defeat at Nantwich operated dismally on the spirits of the Royalists. Prince Rupert was immediately despatched to Shrewsbury, Chester, and North Wales, to look to the security of these places, and then to attempt the relief of Newark, which was trenched round by the troops of the Parliament.

The preservation of Newark was of the last importance to the Royalists. Lying between Oxford and York, the whole of the intermediate country would have been shut up had the town fallen into the hands of the Parliamentarians. To that point, therefore, they directed their energies, and Prince Rupert, collecting all the strength he could muster on his rapid journey through Shrewsbury and Chester, poured down upon Newark with such precipitation that the army, which lay encamped about its walls, were taken by surprise, and thrown into consternation. The garrison, consisting mostly of the gentry and the inhabitants, had been

reduced to extremity; and, had Prince Rupert's relief come a little later, the town must have surrendered. The suddenness of his appearance (for they believed him to be at some distance) spread such a confusion amongst the besiegers, that they gave way at once, and were glad to effect a retreat at the cost of their arms and munitions. The failure before Newark is alluded to in a letter from Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, to Sir Thomas Fairfax. The writer was ardent in the cause of the Parliament, while his father fought on the other side. Amongst the revolting episodes of this civil war was the meeting of father and son on the field of battle at Edge-hill, where the father was mangled with wounds, of which he died only a few months before the date of this letter. The son lived to distinguish himself in many of the conflicts which ensued, until the new-modelling of the army of the Parliament, when he threw up his commission and withdrew into private life. He survived the Restoration many years, and died in 1675.

FOR MY NOBLE FRIEND SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Noble Sir,

Our late mischance at Newark hath necessitated me to march with all our forces here to the relief of our friends there, which will defer for a time my going for Shropshire. It troubles me much to hear the garrison of Wem remains yet under some danger, and therefore you will be pleased to

cast your eye upon those parts, upon this enforced delay I am put to, in consideration of this present design, which is of so great consequence to the whole Kingdom. If God will give us success in this attempt, it will enable me to serve the counties adjoining you with advantage, and be favourable to our mutual interests there, which shall be the endeavour of

Your faithful friend, and humble servant,

B. DENBIGH.

Coventry, March 23rd, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

Some letters, addressed to Sir Thomas Fairfax about this period, from officers holding different commands, contain reports of the progress of affairs in other quarters. The first of these is from Colonel Duckenfield, the governor of Chester, who served in 1649 as high sheriff for the county of Chester.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THIS PRESENT.

SIR,

I HAVE endeavoured (since I knew your pleasure) to get my soldiers into order fit for service, to advance to Nantwich; but they have disbanded themselves, and are following the plough, and from thence they will not be drawn. Yet upon the receipt of your letter yesterday, I sent to the captains to join with me presently, to call their companies together, to march with them and me to Nantwich; but their soldiers refuse to stir yet. They pretend that the dragooners are so uncivil, that they plunder

the country extremely, and they dare not leave their houses for fear of them. Besides, most of them have been upon service very long without any pay; and the gentlemen of the country take care to keep our men upon continual hard duty; but they regard not the poor soldiers when the danger is passed, which will be our ruin, in regard there is that general resolution of the country hereabouts. I dare not take in hand to punish them yet, unless I were more encouraged and countenanced by the Council of War, or by other safe authority; and that my men might be better paid, I shall be willing to do duty as a common soldier myself, rather than to command men in this way. I received an order from the Council of War before Michaelmas last past, that my regiment should be first paid out of the sequestration in Macclesfield Hundred, but neither myself nor my soldiers have received sixpence from them since that time; and now they demand their pay, or part thereof, from me; and the sequestrators are ordered to pay the money into the Treasury at Nantwich, which deprives them of all hope of pay. In case I keep a guard at Woodhead and Adlington I desire to know, whether those works must be pulled down or no. The Marshall-General men do dispose of the prisoners at Stockport, and so suffer them to make escape for bribes; and yet they expect that I or my officers shall both guard them and provide for them. The country is much offended hereat, and at the violence of the dragooners and troopers, more than I dare now inform you of. I am afraid some mischief will ensue thereof. I commend the business to your honourable consideration, and rest

Your honour's servant,

ROBERT DUCKENFIELD.

Stockport, 6th March, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

FOR THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES FOR THE PARLIAMENT IN CHESHIRE, THESE.

SIR,

AFTER two days' stay at Stafford (for I could not get a convoy till Mr. Rugeley went to Coventry), I hasted to London with what speed mine own horses could; for I could not well be furnished otherwise. The day before I came, the business concerning your march into Yorkshire was in agitation, and a little preparation being put on by Sir Philip Stapleton; but the next day, as soon as I was known to be in the town, the Yorkshire men were called, and the Cheshire men, to the Committee for both Kingdoms. Both gave their opinions each against other concerning it, and we dismissed with this:—That it being a business of great importance, they would take time to consider of it. There have been two debates about it since, but by Sir Philip's strong endeavours, it is now determined that you shall march into Yorkshire, as will more plainly appear.

Sir, I received your letter, with that of Colonel Booth's and those of Colonel Holland's; but, considering your march into Yorkshire will shortly begin, I have presumed to respite the negociation of them all till I receive further order from you, that of Colonel Booth being more proper for Sir William Brereton; that of Colonel Holland's being a business that will spin out some time, which you cannot attend, and that for the levying of money being of late ordered in several cases to be referred to the committees, and not to any officers military. The Ordinance for the 10,000*l.* we got passed yesterday; and this day Captain Gill and I are to meet some of the City upon the Exchange about it. We are in hope to

get it shortly; and therein in truth Captain Gill hath taken much pains, both protecting and prosecuting the business to the utmost advantage hitherto. We hope to decide equally with Mr. White, who takes care for my lord's part. My lady is very well; Sir William Fairfax's lady is indifferently recovered, and Mrs. Lambert in health also.

A garrison, not far hence, of great importance, hath been lately stormed by our men, and most of the garrison put to the sword in the storm, being mostly Walloons. Sir Richard Greenfield, the Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir William Waller, is lately fled to the King with fifteen horse. The direction of a letter, sent from the King the other day to the Parliament, was yesterday in question, whether to be accepted or no. It was in these words:—"To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster;" but I think it is resolved to be accepted. This is all the news I hear; wherewith I present my humble respects to you, desirous to approve myself,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

CHR. COPLEY.

Holborn, March 6th, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

We hear since that the demi-cannon and the great mortar-piece are sent to Newark for the service there, and that the Scots have taken a troop of horse from the enemy.

FOR THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES.

SIR,

THE news in these parts is, that Colonel Hastings is this day come to Ashburne; and with those forces which removed from Bakewell (they are about 1000 or 1200

strong), resolves to march to Chesterfield, there to join with Colonel Fretchvile; and that strength, with the forces at Doncaster, intend to raise the siege at Newark. This I have from a gentleman of this country, who was taken prisoner the last night by them, and upon some small composition was set at liberty, and since gave me this notice.

The best intelligence of Newark which I can learn is a letter that came from Sir John Gell to me, which I made bold to present yesterday to you. Here is a matter of twenty soldiers come to me from Sheffield. If I were allowed to advance nearer those parts, I doubt not but to make a good addition to your strength. I shall heartily pray for your good success against Latham House, desiring, when either it is taken or surrendered, the dragoons may be sent up, according to your former order. I find the greatest part of the people senseless of their own good, and the commanders slow both in raising men and maintenance for them.

If it please you to send Major Morgan in these parts, we may effect something upon the garrisoned houses, which do much hinder the increase of men and money. Sir, I humbly desire a commission, signed by yourself, to several gentlemen, whose names I shall put in as occasion or their faithfulness shows itself for the 'sessing and raising money, which, in the hundred of Scarsdale, High Yorke, and Wirksworth, we appointed for the maintenance of our force. It is too great a burden for me both to raise men and money. A man who is employed in war ought not to be troubled with the affairs of the world.

Sir, Captain Lyn and his men, who is both active and faithful, be in great distress of money, being of my lord's regiment, and in all the service of Cheshire. My humble request is, that he may have the same encouragement as

all other men, his valour deserving it. I doubt not but ere this you have received intelligence, if not from me, yet from others here, that the arms are all come to Derby in safety. What occurrences happen in these parts he will give you speedy notice of the same, who will ever rest

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

Jo. Bright.

[*About the date of March.*]

Sir,—I have already conveyed your former letter to Derby, and shall despatch the rest with all convenient speed. I desire your commission for establishing a committee may be sent with the first conveniency. Little news from Sheffield, or those parts, but men daily outruns them. I make bold to present this inclosed; it came to a servant of mine, from his father, who lives about Sheffield.

The picture given by Colonel Duckenfield of the state of the army shows that all power of control over the soldiery was gone. They had disbanded themselves, gone back to their houses, and refused to obey the summons of their officers to return to their duty. These serious embarrassments were heightened by an injudicious movement on the part of the Parliament, who, at a moment when it was so important to gather into the North all the available strength of the army, ordered off Sir Thomas Fairfax to the siege of Latham House, which he was strictly prohibited from breaking up without special leave.

Latham, or Lathom House, the chief seat of the Stanleys, was a great building, standing in a spungy

basin, surrounded by massive walls, flanked by nine ponderous towers mounting heavy pieces of ordnance, with a keep, a vast moat, and a breast-work. In this stronghold the Earl of Derby and his Countess were holding high revels, when the breaking out of the Civil War called away the Earl to the service of the King. During his absence the Countess was summoned to submit to the propositions of the Parliament, or surrender. For several months she ingeniously contrived to evade a direct reply, enduring all the time the terrors of a siege, being confined to her private walks and gardens, and suffering the inconveniences of sequestration. At last it was resolved that the siege should be carried out in right earnest, and on the 27th February Sir Thomas Fairfax established his quarters round the house. On the next day he transmitted to Lady Derby the following letter :—

TO MY LADY DERBY, TO RENDER THE GARRISON OF LATHAM.

Being sent hither over this part by command from the Parliament to suppress and prevent all force that shall oppose their legal just power, and to prevent the increasing miseries of some almost ruinated counties, which, by God's great goodness, hath had some happy success; and understanding that your ladyship keeps Latham with a garrison of soldiers in it, which doth many injuries to the army and much hinder them, and is a receptacle and great encouragement to the Papists and disaffected persons in those parts, (which I cannot believe your ladyship doth naturally affect); I should not do my duty

if I neglect the means to remove that mischief. Yet, madam, I do owe you that so much honour as a lady, as I would use all just means that would make me capable of serving your ladyship, and proceed so as may testify so much, though some force be already near your ladyship.

I desire to have sent your ladyship herein inclosed an Act of Parliament (indeed I have need to excuse it to your ladyship I had not a better to send you, having passed many hands, there being but this in the county), that your ladyship may make use of the clemency of the Parliament. And if the Earl of Derby will make an advantage of it, I shall faithfully serve his lordship in it; and if your ladyship so render up that place, Latham House, I shall offer such terms as may be honourable and convenient for your ladyship,—not but the Parliament, which aims at nothing but the establishment of true religion and the honour and peace of the King and kingdom, will have a tender respect and care over your ladyship. I will add no more, but an assurance to your ladyship; only I say this to prevent such that may happen, and to do your ladyship the best service that is in the power of

Your ladyship's most faithful and humble servant,

THOS. FAIRFAX.

Her ladyship's object was to gain time, and her policy consisted accordingly in demurs and delays. In reply to the requisition of the Parliamentary General, she expressed her wonder at being required to give up her lord's house, and begged a week's consideration that she might resolve her doubts of law and conscience. But Sir Thomas penetrated her purpose, became more peremptory, and offered to remove her ladyship in her

carriage to New Park, a house of the earl's, about a quarter of a mile from Lathom. This message, which was courteously intended and delivered, surprised her ladyship into a passion, and she rejected it in a burst of anger, declaring that it would be more knightly that Sir Thomas should wait upon her than she upon him. In this way matters hung for a few days longer, the agents employed by Fairfax being invariably foiled by the wit or firmness of her ladyship; until at last the negociations were suddenly brought to a close by a final declaration on the part of the Countess that she could treat no farther, to which she added, that "though a woman and a stranger, [her ladyship was a French woman, daughter of the Duc de Tremouille, and descended from the famous Count William of Nassau], divorced from her friends, and robbed of her estate, she was ready to receive their utmost violence, trusting in God for protection and deliverance."

Upon the receipt of this answer, hostilities were begun promptly enough, but carried on with most dreary indecision. They were put into motion about the 6th March, and we find Sir Thomas Fairfax sitting down here, directing single shots and splashes of powder to no effect till the 24th April, when he appears to have abandoned the business, and proceeded, as he would have done long before if he had had the power, into Yorkshire. This siege of a valiant lady in her castle excited universal sympathy. It threw a solitary glow of personal interest upon a corner of the great war; it was

like a scrap of old romance let into a framework of coarse violent reality.

The conduct of the siege now devolved upon Mr. or Colonel Rigby of Preston, a member of Parliament for Wigan, "a lawyer," says a contemporary, "and a bad one," of an impetuous disposition, and ill qualified, from want of military knowledge, to manage such an affair. He appears to have thought that the best thing he could do was to gather up his powder, and manufacture it into grenadoes, which he could fling upon the devoted garrison as opportunity suited. These grenadoes had already done much mischief, and he relied more upon them than upon all the rest of his resources. Having got his materials ready, he sent a furious message to Lady Derby, summoning her peremptorily to surrender. The heroine was standing amongst her soldiers when this message was delivered. Receiving the paper on which it was written from the hands of the envoy, she tore it up, and exclaimed that the proper reward for Rigby would be to be hanged at her gates. "Tell that insolent rebel," she continued, "he shall neither have person, goods, nor house; when our strength and provisions are spent, we shall find a fire more merciful than Rigby's, and then, if the providence of God prevent it not, my goods and house shall burn in his sight; and myself, children, and soldiers, rather than fall into his hands, will seal our religion and loyalty in the same flame."

Apprehending, from the determined spirit of this

answer, that Rigby would immediately open a fire upon the castle, her ladyship, whose valour was quite equal to her eloquent expression of it, resolved to be beforehand with him; and, at four o'clock the next morning, her soldiers issued out of the eastern gate upon the desperate design of endeavouring to secure the ditch and rampart. It was a choice of deaths. The cry amongst them was, "We must either kill or be killed." The horror of the crisis inspired them with a courage and devotion beyond all ordinary calculation. There was one mortar-piece which had raked them piteously, and which they feared more than all the rest of the enemy's guns. From its dreadful mouth issued those flaming grenadoes which, tumbling in showers of fire upon the heads of the beleaguered garrison, produced the most terrible results. The first thing they did was to make for the trench where this mortar-piece lay guarded by fifty soldiers. After a quarter of an hour's fighting, they won the sconce, gained the rampart, levelled the ditch, and drawing up the iron monster by ropes, dragged it into the house. Having accomplished their object, they looked down upon Rigby with scorn. It was a jubilee to witness the mad glee with which the poor soldiers danced round this fearful trophy when they had got it safely within doors, and saw it lying dumb and harmless at their feet. The historian of the siege says, "Now [exulting over the mortar] neither ditches nor aught else troubled our soldiers; their grand terror, the mortar-piece, which had

frightened them from their meat and sleep, lying, like a dead lion, quietly among them; every one had his eye and his foot upon it, shouting and rejoicing as merrily as they used to do with their ale and bagpipes. Indeed, every one had this estimation of the service, that the main work had been done, and that what was yet behind was a mere pastime."

Rigby's circumstances now became hopeless. He had been scorned, mocked, and beaten in the ditch, and, to crown his mortification as well as his defeat, he had lost his mortar-piece, which had been of more use to him than either his skill or his soldiers. In this exigency, he applied for help to the deputy lieutenants of Lancashire, setting before them the usual complaint—want of money, and defalcation of troops.

COLONEL ALEXANDER RIGBY TO THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF LANCASHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,

THE siege of Latham House is a matter of great consequence to this whole county, and hath a further influence into other places; but herein I need not to enlarge myself to you, who better understand the state of this county and who are so much interested therein. This work was begun with the personal presence and assistance of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Ashton, and afterwards others were by his honour enjoined to Colonel Ashton and my assistance, and since, though Colonel Ashton and his forces

have been withdrawn from me, I have not enjoyed the assistance intended, so that thereby I have been destitute of means to get in monies to maintain the work, and enforced to borrow great and considerable sums of money, both upon my word and bond, for the public use. We have had many nights together alarms, and beaten them into the house six and seven times in a night, and by these alarms and great numbers in the house, and by our losses, my soldiers have been enforced some to watch and stand upon the guard in the trenches two nights together, and others two nights in four, in both which kind my son hath performed his duties as the meanest captain; and for myself I almost languish under the burden, having toiled above my strength. The length of the siege and the hard duties have wearied all the soldiers; many have departed without license, many of the volunteers of Leyland and Amounderness (though called) have forborne to come unto my aid, and divers of Colonel Moor's soldiers here with me have refused to do duties in times of necessity; and want of pay was their pretence.

Gentlemen, these things are but part of our sufferings. I have several times, in most earnest manner, implored many of you for aid, but not been so happy as to obtain necessary assistance from you. I am enforced (no other course being pleasing to me,) to appeal from you to you, desiring that you will be pleased to meet here, at Ormskirk, on Friday next, there to understand our condition: and either, which God forbid! to waive the work (pardon, I pray you, that expression, extorted by want of your aid), or else so to join in carrying it on, that it may proceed with your assistance: wherein I shall willingly assent that the honour thereof may be wholly yours, so that the benefit thereof may be that of the kingdom; and so, praying God to prosper this design, wherein I am

now engaged, and to preserve you and us and this whole county and kingdom from our enemies,

I remain, Your faithful servant,

ALEXANDER RIGBY.

Ormskirk, May 1st, 1644.

This appeal, which put the alternative plainly before the deputies, was quite useless. No succours came. The deputies had business of their own to attend to, and found that difficult enough. Every man, in fact, in Rigby's position, was left to work out his own salvation as he could, and to exercise his discretion as to fighting or flying. Rigby did not lose much time in making up his mind. A few weeks more of sallies and scrambles in the trenches, and then he raised the siege, and on the 27th May endeavoured to escape from the hands of Prince Rupert, who, with the Earl of Derby, was coming to relieve the Countess. Collecting his companions on a green in the neighbourhood, he was for some time in great incertitude which way to march in order to get clear of the Royalists, and finally determined on throwing himself into Bolton. This was the most dangerous point he could have selected. He had hardly got within the walls when he was surprised by Prince Rupert, who, surrounding the town, destroyed more than half the numbers of the Parliamentarians. In this memorable action the Countess was amply revenged. The Earl of Derby took the first colour that fell before the Royalists, and with his own hand cut down a man who had once been his servant, but

who had deserted with the intention of betraying his mistress, in the time of her greatest peril.

The Countess of Derby is said to have been the last person in the kingdom who submitted to the Parliament. Her husband was worthy of her heroic nature. His answer to Ireton, who made him large offers if he would surrender up the Isle of Man, is a memorable example of high courage and inflexible resolution :—"I scorn your proffers ; I disdain your favour ; I abhor your treason,"—and this, too, in July, 1649, with the King dead, and royalty in the coffin with him. In another passage of that curious document he showed a peremptory scorn and defiance, which recalls some of the replies of his beleaguered wife to the ill-mannered Rigby. "Take this for your final answer, and forbear any farther solicitations ; for, if you trouble me with any more messages of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer." Whatever becomes of Causes and Rights in the strifes that spring up in their vindication, the world is bound to honour fidelity and true services wherever they appear, and especially when they are seen standing firm in the last hours of disaster. The Earl of Derby never wavered a jot, was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, and died upon the scaffold.

The following letters from Colonel Lambart, written while Sir Thomas Fairfax was before Lathom House, inform us of what was going forward in the North during that time, and how much the presence of the General was needed there :—

FOR MY TRULY HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, &c.

SIR,

THE last night I sent out a party of horse and foot, commanded by Captain Asquith, to fall upon the enemy's quarters at Hunstett, which accordingly was done, through God's assistance, with good success. We took some prisoners; Major Vavasour, Captain Hughes, Captain Cardhouse, Captain Laine, Captain Labourne, and Captain Talbot; three lieutenants, four gentlemen, about 200 common soldiers, besides some slain: and I bless God, without any loss on our part at all. Divers other of better quality very narrowly escaping. We all, in these parts, exceedingly long for and desire your appearance here, which, I am confident, were enough to clear these parts, if the opportunity be not slipped. General King is certainly at Durham, but I cannot tell with what force, but I fear lest his intentions may be for this country.

Sir, I desire you not to think my following lines tedious unto you, which are in the behalf of my chirurgeon, who, having spent all his chest at Nantwich, desires that you will be pleased to afford him some recruit. Sir, I beseech you pardon his tedious petition, who rests, Sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

JO. LAMBART.

Bradford, March 6th, 1643, [*N.S.* 1644.]

FOR MY MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND, MR. SECRETARY NICHOLAS, &c.

SIR,

THE reason of my address unto you, is, because I am informed by some of our friends and countrymen that Sir Thomas appointed so much money for us out of your store as would make our horse a month's pay, and because I

hear my general is in Cheshire, and the purse in your keeping. If you be acquainted with Sir Thomas's pleasure, I desire you will be pleased to disburse unto Mr. Hugh Carrier the said sum. I have sent you the number of our horses as they appeared the last muster, and since then they are increased something. I shall only trouble you farther with what news I hear. The Scots are certainly at Durham and Hartlepool, the latter whereof they fortify and settle a garrison. There hath lately been some blows, and the report goes by divers who came to us from them that Sir Richard Hutton's regiment is cut off. This you may credit, that many wounded soldiers are brought to York. My Lord General hath taken Stamford Bridge and some good ordnance. More of the particulars I cannot relate. The enemy is fortifying Tadcaster; and even now I hear that he is marched towards Leeds with eighteen colours of foot and the demi-cannon. I should not in the least kind have credited it, but that I know the relater to be very faithful, and reports that his friend saw it. We shall, to the best of our poor powers, endeavour to resist. God in his mercy do his pleasure with us! Sir, I must acknowledge many favours from you, and, in that acknowledgment, rest

Your obliged friend and servant,

Jo. Lambart.*

Bradford, March 11th, [*N.S.* 1644.]

The writer of these letters was one of the most active of the Parliamentarian generals. His activity (which Charles II. considered of the "mischievous" order) was not forgotten at the Restoration. By a sinister breach and evasion of the royal word, he was put upon his trial,

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

and found guilty, but respited from death at the bar. He survived his sentence thirty years ; but death would have been a cheaper doom. That long remainder of his life was passed in close prison in the island of Guernsey.

The condition of the country at this period, torn by dissention, and thrown into a position "fit to be conquered," as Mr. Lye describes it, may be gathered from a couple of stray epistles addressed to Mr., afterwards Sir Richard Browne, the English resident in Paris. Mr. Lye invites Mr. Browne, as a matter of ceremony, to visit him in Bristol ; but knowing how much pleasanter it was to drink wine in the Tuileries, and cultivate the good-will of handsome women in peace and quietness, than to swallow ditch-water and sleep under a hedge, he insinuates a hint that he would considerably prefer being invited to visit Mr. Browne in Paris. The Ranulphe, or Randolf Crewe, who writes the second letter, was the judge who, in 1626, was removed from his place for not promoting the loan. We find him now, eighteen years afterwards, so reduced in circumstances, that he is living upon credit. Sir Richard Browne, to whom these letters were addressed, appears to have been written to by every body, and to have received every body — fugitives included. After the death of the King, we find him still holding his appointment, and throwing open his doors to Sir Edward Nicholas, whose connection with him, Sir Edward being his wife's father, was hardly sufficient to cover the risk of entertaining so faithful a Royalist.

MONSIEUR BROWNE, RESIDENT POUR LE ROY DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE, À PARIS.

SIR,

TROUBLES and restraint have taken up all my time since I had the honour to wait upon you in Paris; and truly between both, till this last week that I have been in this town of purpose to rejoice, I have had neither leisure nor opportunity to perform my promise with you. The last letter I received from you was the next day after the battle at Edgehill, wherein it seems fame had me a rebel at Paris; but before the receipt of it, not many hours, I had given sufficient testimony of my fidelity. I must humbly thank you, sir, for your remembrance; for had I been engaged on the other side, it would certainly have worked powerfully enough to have drawn me from them. I need not trouble you with the relation of any of our passages: you have them from better and more judicious observations. I can only tell you that we prepare on all sides to cut throats, and put the kingdom in a posture fit (for any one that will endeavour it) to be conquered. In the meantime you drink good wine at Paris, see the beauties upon the course, and refresh in your own home in the Tuileries, which in my opinion is better than drinking scurvy ale, marching all day in the wet or cold, and lying all night under a hedge. If you can away with that course of life, I will invite you into England; but truly I had rather receive and obey yours for Paris, where I will be next winter if I outlive the summer. My service to your lady.

Sir, I am,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

WALT. LYE.*

Bristol, March 26th, 1644.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Sir,—I beseech you do me the favour to send the inclosed by the next post to Rome, and recommend it to the College of English Jesuits, to be sent, according to the directions, to Prussia.

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND, SIR RICHARD BROWNE, BARONET, AGENT FOR THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, AT PARIS.

Sir,

I writ to you by the last, not then knowing the favour the King had done to you. It seems now there be mutual preparations and resolutions to fight. This *plusq. civile bellum* must be put to the bloody issue. I mourn and groan to think of it. God, for his mercy's sake, look upon our miseries! If you saw the counties—how devastated, how impoverished, how defaced, it would grieve you. It is well it is out of your eye, howbeit it be familiar to your ear. The text sways much with me,—"if it be possible, have peace with all men;" and would to God mine eyes might be closed in the days of peace. I still thank you for my youth, for whom I wish my friend's assistance to make him a man, for he is in my love and my care, and I shall rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Ranulphe Crewe.

10*th April*, 1644.

I myself receive nothing of my revenue, and have been plundered to a great value; the little that my son hath for him and his son is so impaired, that it will in nowise maintain them, and I protest I know not how to supply but upon credit the means of my subsisting, and yet I hope my credit shall not fail.*

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Sir Richard Browne was a distinguished citizen of London, which he represented in Parliament, and a hot-brained Presbyterian. He was prominent in the outbreak of the civil war; accompanied Essex to the field; fought at Worcester, and Edgehill, and other places; and acquired such a reputation for zeal and devotion to the cause, that he was appointed one of the commissioners from the Scotch army to receive the King. It is a strange and confounding slide of the magic lantern which now suddenly brings this Sir Richard Browne before us representing in Paris the King against whom he had been so recently engaged in open rebellion. But, in these times, we tread on a volcanic soil, and must not be surprised at any changes wrought by its convulsive throes. The interviews which the commissioners had with the King are said to have converted Browne back to his allegiance. Whether it was that his Majesty's dialectics gave him the advantage over the commissioners, or that Browne had reason to suspect the concealed designs of the Independents, does not appear; but, from that time, he became a faithful adherent of the monarchy, and continued so to the end. He next appears as resident for the King at Paris; and a couple of letters addressed to him in 1643, soon after his appointment, by the unfortunate Elector Palatine, will indicate the influence he then enjoyed. The Elector, thinking more of his own affairs than of his correspondent, gives the German orthography of Mr. Browne's name.

FOR MR. BRAUN, THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN'S RESIDENT IN FRANCE.

SIR,

SINCE your constant good professions towards my interests, accompanied with the King your master's orders, have made me confident enough of your readiness to employ them for the benefit of my affairs at the French Court, and therefore rendered any request of mine to that purpose superfluous; yet, to show you how considerable your good offices are unto me, I cannot also, on my part, omit to desire you to let this be their scope; that the French ministers designed for the general treaty may be particularly instructed to urge my restitution, according to the year 1618, and to insert it as an article of the general peace, my adversaries themselves avowing it to be a necessary ingredient thereof. I shall leave to your own dexterity and affection to my cause to represent how much it will be for France's honour and interest to procure it, wherein you will oblige me exceedingly; and I shall omit no occasion wherein I may testify how sensible I shall be of it, and so I rest

Your very affectionate friend,

CHARLES,

Hague, this 5th of June, 1643. Prince Elector Palatine.*

FOR MR. BRAUN, THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN'S RESIDENT IN FRANCE.

SIR,

I WISH the effects of the French professions towards my affairs may give me as full satisfaction as your endeavours, so well expressed in your memorial, to obtain them have obliged me to assure you of my thankful acknowledgment;

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

which I can express no other way than this, until the effects of their good intentions, concurring with your constant solicitation, may render me able to show it more really, whilst, in the meantime, I rest

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES,

Hague, 20th of July, 1643. Prince Elector Palatine.*

About this time John Evelyn, whose pastoral and timid spirit had been scared out of England by the first roar of artillery, was travelling on the Continent, and, finding himself in Paris, became intimate at the house of Sir Richard Browne—the "home in the Tuileries"—the tranquillity of which was so much envied by Mr. Lye. It is rather a remarkable "coincidence," with a startling contradiction in it, that it was a namesake of our gentle "English Peiresc," as John Evelyn is called, who first brought gunpowder to perfection in England; and that, at this very time, another namesake of his, the member for Blechingley, was taking an active part against the King in the civil war. But we must not snap our little thread of narrative. Sir Richard Browne had a daughter, and Evelyn fell in love with her, and was married to her at the Embassy. Of this lady, Cowley said, in one of his complimentary conceits, (alluding to the two pursuits which chiefly engaged

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection. Soon after the date of this letter the Elector returned to England, upon whose bounty he had long subsisted. He alone of all the members of his family abandoned the Royal cause, and joined the Parliament.

Evelyn's thoughts, gardening and reading,) that she had

> "The fairest garden in her looks,
> And in her mind the choicest books."

It is a more interesting memorial of this lady, that it was through her Evelyn became possessed of Sayes Court. Sir Richard survived all the troubles, was knighted and baronetted, and had the honour of commanding the city militia, and filling the office of lord mayor of London in the eventful year of 1660.

The movements in the West began now to assume for a time even more importance than the variable warfare in the North, where the arrival of the Scotch, under the Earl of Leven, combined with the powerful demonstration of the associated counties under the Earl of Manchester, produced a temporary feeling of security. The conduct of affairs in the West had been committed to Sir William Waller, who displayed consummate skill in the feints by which he diverted the attention and perplexed the plans of the Royalists, hovering between his Majesty's troops and those of Prince Rupert, to prevent their junction; and instead of pursuing his march direct into the far west—the intention of which was known, and might have been frustrated—keeping about the small towns and villages of Worcestershire, to watch his Majesty, who, having prorogued the Parliament at Oxford, had taken up his quarters in Newbury and that neighbourhood, for a similar purpose. They were watching each other. But Waller had the advan-

tage of the single hand, and the single head, against a stronger camp, weakened by divided councils. On the King's side there was deaf, drunken Brentford, who was general over all the rest; hot, imperious Wilmot; honest, irresolute Hopton; soldierly Astley, who hated long debates, and thought the best remedy lay in the sword; and Digby and Colepepper, two privy councillors, who, though of the most different natures, says Clarendon, always agreed in their opinions. Out of these elements it was impossible to extract concord, and the King was constantly kept in collision with his friends as well as his enemies. The result was a sudden discursive flight back to Oxford, demolishing in their march the works of the garrison at Reading—which place (*en parenthèse*) was entered by Waller's soldiers the next day. His Majesty did not stay long at Oxford, as will be seen presently by a letter, from Sir William Waller, to the generals in command.

This letter was addressed to the Scotch General and the Earl of Manchester, because Essex was already out of favour with the Parliament. They had found him impracticable, and, under some plausible excuses, had formed that association of counties, with the Earl at its head, and Cromwell under him in the command of the horse, which, united with the Scotch, and taking their orders direct from the Parliament, virtually superseded Essex. This combined force held the North. There was also a distinct force under Essex, and a third, in the West, under Waller. By the great means thus

organised at their disposal, they hoped to bring the war to a close before the end of the summer.

These designs were kept close from Essex, who never knew what he was to be required to do till the moment of execution arrived. His orders were then peremptory. Nothing was left to his discretion. Upon the King's return to Oxford his instructions were to follow his Majesty wherever he went. This instruction he fulfilled with sufficient energy, tracking the King's footsteps through Derbyshire, and forcing him to concentrate his troops at Oxford, where he shut him up. Various rumours were spread abroad : one, that the King was planning an escape to London ; another, that he had fallen into the hands of Essex. These rumours produced dismay in Westminster ; and such was the jealousy and distrust of Essex that the Parliament instantly wrote to him, desiring him to procure accurate information concerning his Majesty, and to *do nothing.*

In his extremity, pent up in the collegiate walls of Oxford, with Waller on one side, and Essex on the other, nothing was left for the King but flight, and his escape was effected with considerable tact. Leaving his banner flying from the old tower, as if he were still there, he stole out of the north gate at nine o'clock at night, and joining his horse and foot who awaited at a distance to receive him, he marched through the two lines of the beleaguering armies, and before daybreak was many miles beyond their outposts. The Earl of Essex sending the next

morning to reconnoitre was deceived by the banner, so that the King got two days' march a-head of him. But Waller had better intelligence, and sent a body of horse flying after the King to hang upon his rear and harass his progress until he could come up himself. At Burford, they nearly caught the fugitives, and were so close upon them that they fell in with some stragglers from the ranks of the Royalists, who had lingered to drink or sleep in the village. Notwithstanding the vigilance of Waller, he was still a few hours too late, and the King finally escaped with the echoes of the pursuers' hoofs ringing in his ears. Waller's letter refers to the flight and pursuit :—

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF LEVEN, AND THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MANCHESTER, AND THE LORD FAIRFAX, HUMBLY PRESENT THIS.

My most honoured Lords,

I have given your lordships several advertisements of my condition here, with the unfeigned zeal I have to do you service, and to correspond with you on all occasions. I signified in my former the reason of my lying at Stourbridge, his Majesty being at Bewdley; which was to interpose between him and Prince Rupert, in case he should offer to advance for that end to Shrewsbury, whither I had a shorter way on this side the river than his Majesty had on that; but, contrary to my expectation, on Saturday last his Majesty suddenly dislodged, and retired to Worcester. I durst not suddenly move after him, for fear it had been but a feint to make me

lose that ground I had; but his Majesty's intentions were real, for the next day he marched away to and through Evesham, and broke the bridge behind him,* as likewise Bidford Bridge, and halted a while on Broadway Hill, and from thence directed his course to Burford, so that I make no question but he is now very well in Oxford again.

So soon as I received assurance of his Majesty's departure from Worcester I rose, and leaving my foot to march gently after, with two regiments of horse to secure them, I advanced with the rest of my horse and dragoons after him to Evesham, twenty-two miles distant; but when I came thither, I found that his Majesty had gained above twenty miles before me, so that I conceived I should but ruin my horse to pursue him farther, and therefore gave over the chace. We have taken some prisoners, amongst them Colonel Skirmshay, with letters of very great importance. The copy of one I have sent inclosed.

I humbly suppose, his Majesty being now gone, that I shall not be able to act anything in these parts to correspond with your service; and therefore, according to the orders I have received from the Committee of both Kingdoms, I am directing my course westward. I conceive it might be of some use if there were a way settled for a constant intelligence between us, and a cypher appointed whereby there might be a mutual conveyance of matters of secrecy and importance. I should be glad to receive some directions to that purpose by the hand of this worthy gentleman, Major

* This was the second bridge his Majesty had destroyed on his flight. The first was at Pershore. On that occasion unfortunately the whole of the troops had not passed over when the demolition took place, and three or four officers and about twenty men were precipitated into the Avon by the sudden falling of one of the arches, and drowned.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER,

Major General of the Parliamentary Army

ENGRAVED BY JOSEPH BROWN FROM AN EXCEEDINGLY RARE PRINT IN

THE COLLECTION OF THE CONNECTICUT ACADEMY

Kerr. I have no more to trouble your lordships with at present, but the humble assurance that I am,

My Lords,
Your most humble servant,
WILLIAM WALLER.

Evesham, June 18th, 1644.

By some intercepted letters, I find that Prince Rupert wants powder extremely.

Waller was in error in supposing that the King entertained any intention of advancing towards Shrewsbury. He had no intention of doing anything except trying to escape, and it taxed his resources to the last to do even that.

Waller's expression of his anxiety to prosecute his duties in the West, and to establish a means of communication with the generals, implied an allusion which was well understood by those to whom it was addressed. He had been coerced by Essex, and had already complained to the Parliament of the usage he had suffered. When the King had got off out of Oxford, two days a-head of Essex, his lordship (not unwilling perhaps to shift upon others the responsibility of his own neglect) called a council, at which it was resolved that Waller should follow the King wherever he went, while Essex proposed to set out to the relief of Lyme. Waller resisted this arrangement, declaring that the West was assigned to him by the committee as his province. But Essex was peremptory, and Waller, compelled to submit, laid the case before Parliament, who immediately

forwarded an angry letter to Essex, desiring him to obey their former directions, and to direct Waller to attend the service of the West. To these instructions he sent back a bold answer—refusing to comply with their orders. He certainly stated as an excuse that he had already set out on his march, and that if he returned it would be an encouragement to the enemy : there was reason in this, but his general deportment was so overbearing that the Parliament were not willing to give him credit for being reasonable, even when he happened to deserve it, which was not often. Courage as a soldier was his great merit ; his great defect was want of discretion and vigilance as a commander of soldiers.

Of all parts of the kingdom, during the pressure of these costly efforts of the Parliament, London appears to have borne the burthen of voluntary and involuntary taxation more cheerfully than any other place. Nor was this because London was richer than other places, but because it was sounder at the core. When the Scots crossed the border it was found necessary to issue an ordinance for raising subscriptions to maintain them ; the counties, however, were so tardy in their advances that a second ordinance was put forth to compel payment. Even this menace failed in some cases, and the Goldsmiths' Hall was obliged to follow it up with a letter, in which the example of London was referred to, in the hope of shaming the lingering counties into compliance. Here is the letter, which was probably a circular for the defaulters :—

JOHN ASHE, BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE AT GOLDSMITHS' HALL, TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNTY OF ———, ABOUT THE LOAN TO PARLIAMENT.

WORSHIPFUL AND HONOURED FRIENDS,

I AM commanded by the committee of Goldsmiths' Hall to let you know that they have long expected a good sum of money from your county for the payment of our brethren of Scotland, come into England for our help and assistance. The committee have been driven to great extremities for that you have been so slow. It is hoped that now every week you will send up or return a very considerable sum, until such time as the sum of 18,000*l.* be made up, for that is your proportion to the 200,000*l.*

It was hoped by the Parliament that, when the first ordinance passed for the free and voluntary loans, there would have been no need of the second, to compel men to lend; and indeed, in London, we have made very little use of the second; for upon the payment of 80,000*l.*, which is the City's proportion, we shall not bring in use the compulsory way much above 10,000*l.* All the rest, to wit, 70,000*l.*, will be paid voluntarily upon the first ordinance; for the second ordinance is only to compel the backward, ill-affected. But if your county shall prove so far ill-affected as that they must be wholly compelled, you may then expect speedily another ordinance to compel the payment of the residue. Wherefore I pray observe the advice and direction of our clerk, Mr. Sampson, whom we sent down of purpose to hasten the work, and to show you the way we have gone. He complains for want of a sufficient allowance to defray his charges. We hope that

you will not suffer him to want that is come so far to do you service; but I shall forbear, and rest

Your loving friend,

JOHN ASHE.*

London, April 10th, 1644.

The war spread rapidly over the kingdom. Essex had gone into Dorsetshire, and taken possession of Weymouth, by invitation of the mutinous townspeople; Waller had left Worcestershire, and, after a variety of fruitless manœuvres, had the misfortune to see his army vanishing before him, without the power to stay or recruit them; and the King's troops, flushed with an imaginary success at Cropredy-bridge, had the hardihood to contemplate a campaign in the West, whither they went, avowedly in pursuit of Essex, although the mean jealousies and bickerings of the generals, exasperated by the favouritism of the Sovereign, threatened the whole body with hourly dissolution. His Majesty had hardly advanced two days on his march when he received intelligence which paralysed him. Fearful disasters had fallen upon his supporters in the North, where the battle was already fought, the result of which shadowed forth his own fate. The coming of that event is anticipated by a hasty intimation, written between one and two o'clock in the morning, from a Parliament officer to the Earl of Manchester:—

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MANCHESTER,
THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

My Lord,

Our intelligence from divers places agreeing that the enemy's horse and foot did advance this day towards Otley, and quarter there and the towns thereabouts this night, hath occasioned us to draw all our horse of both nations into a body upon the moor close by Long Marston, within five miles of York, where now we are, expecting what further orders we shall receive from your lordship and the other generals.

My Lord, I humbly offer this, that exact orders might be sent to my Lord Fairfax's troops that are in general parts of this country to march up either to us or you, that they may not by their absence be made useless. The Lieutenant-General commanded me to send this express to your lordship, being in expectation to hear your lordship's further resolutions. My Lord, I am

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Leon. Watson.*

Long Marston, this 30th of June, 1644.
Between one and two o'clock in the morning.

The enemy's whole body is about 15,000.

The anticipation here expressed turned out to be quite accurate: the battle took place on the evening of the second day after Watson's letter was written. The haste in which this decisive engagement was begun and

* Probably secretary to Cromwell, under whose instructions this letter appears to have been written.

won may be seen in the shortness of the notice, and the promptitude with which the troops gathered and took up their position upon the plain of Long Marston. There was so much time consumed in preliminary movements, that the day was spent before firing opened, and the soldiers fought into the night, when the whole force of the Royalists, consisting, according to Watson, of 15,000, but estimated by most other authorities at 20,000, were dispersed like chaff, or cut to pieces. The Marquis of Newcastle's foot were literally destroyed by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell at the head of their horse; and so signal was his lordship's defeat and disgrace, that, without drawing rein, he fled to the sea-shore, and, taking the first vessel that offered, a poor crazy boat, set sail for Hamburgh. This proud beaten marquis, whose vanity and indiscretion helped materially to ruin the King's cause, did not see the shores of England again for sixteen years! Here was ample revenge for the disaster of Addeston Moor, where, exactly twelve months before, the Marquis of Newcastle obtained a victory (for a long time doubtful) over Lord Fairfax.

Amidst the immediate consequences of the triumph at Marston Moor were the surrender of Sheffield castle and the city of York. Respecting the spoils of the former (about which there seems to have been some very pitiful evasions attempted) we have the subjoined appeal from the Earl of Manchester to Lord Fairfax :—

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Upon the surrender of Sheffield Castle (as I am informed) it was agreed by my commanders in chief here, and Colonel Bright and other Yorkshire gentlemen, that there should be an inventory taken of all arms, provisions, and other things in the Castle to them, that a moderate sum might be allowed for gratification of the soldiers for their service; and so to have all the arms and other things left entire in the Castle. After which there was an agreement signed that 500*l.* should be paid to the soldiers by Colonel Bright, and so he to enter upon all things which we found at first in the Castle, save a hundred muskets and some other things, which they were to bring along with them, the other goods and arms left in the Castle being of far greater value. According to which agreement Colonel Bright was to pay the next morning 250*l.*, and the other 250*l.* was to be paid out of a parcel of iron found in the Castle, which had been sold by some officers of mine.

Now I understand by Colonel Copley that the said iron had been fetched from his mills by the King's party, and that my officers had taken for the service against the Castle cannon bullet, which they commanded to be cast there to the value of 100*l.*; and therefore his expectation is to receive the monies for which that iron was sold, and satisfaction for the said bullets. I humbly desire your lordship to take it into your consideration, and endeavour his satisfaction according to justice. There being no reason why restitution from me should be expected for either the iron or bullets, receiving no more than a moderate gratification for

the soldiers, agreed upon, as appears by the copy of the agreement which I have caused to be delivered unto him; and which 500*l.* is desired to extend no further than giving each officer and soldier of mine in that service one week's pay.

I leave the premises to your lordship's grave consideration, and remain,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

E. MANCHESTER.

Lincoln, August 24th, 1644.

No man was better entitled to plead and to be heard for the soldier than the Earl of Manchester. All through this war he had shared their fatigues, without indulging in any of those voluptuous reservations to which the Marquis of Newcastle used to fly for relief. This city of Lincoln, from which he writes in August, he had taken by storm in the preceding April. Yet for all his laurels, there fell out dissensions between him and Cromwell, whose energies were of a more fiery order; and these dissensions became more and more loud and angry, until they terminated in a grave charge of backwardness and disinclination to fight preferred against Manchester by Cromwell on the floor of the Commons. Of all charges which could have been brought against Manchester, this of a disinclination to fight was the most untenable: witness Edgehill, Lynn, Horncastle. But it was quite true that after the battle of Marston Moor, which utterly broke up the King's power, with the exception of the remnant that followed his Majesty in his wanderings up and down in search of

Essex, and after the capitulation of York, which swept the North pretty clear of the Royalists, Manchester thought that enough had been done to show where the strength lay, and that something better than fighting might be attempted to bring about a settlement profitable to both sides. Cromwell, on the other hand, was for striking a decisive blow in the field, for he held that a "thorough" victory, which should split the heart of royalty, was the only means of closing the war with permanent advantage to religion and liberty. There was no want of decision, or energy, or zeal in Manchester, but he was opposed to the extremity which Cromwell had foreseen and laboured for from the beginning. Cromwell felt the necessity of getting rid of all men who stood at this dead-lock of policy; and he was right. He laid his measures securely to that end, and by the following April he relieved the country of the hesitating fealty of Manchester, Essex, and Denbigh.

The new modelling of the army, and the appointment of Sir Thomas Fairfax to the supreme command placed the Parliament on firmer ground than they had ever occupied before. A part of their security lay in the popularity of the commanders. With the principal exception—Fairfax, who was not yet quite a lord—they were nearly all men of the people, sprung from the loins of the people, familiar with their wishes, and intimately identified with their interests. *The lords were gone*, and the cause was now left to be worked out by the muscles and stout hearts of the eager millions, for whom

Kings never had much sympathy, and who had now for the first time, and to set a great example to the world, taken in hand the question of human rights as it lay perplexed and obscured between sovereigns and subjects.

There was much of this, too, in the quarrel of Cromwell with Manchester. It was not altogether on the one side that Manchester refused to pursue the King, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of his Lieutenant-General, or on the other that Cromwell had treated with sarcasm and contempt the order of his commander; but that a new party was growing up which looked upon certain connections as a blot and hindrance, and which was uneasy at the core until it had purified the cause of all association with "lords." It was the "lordship" of Manchester that chiefly gravelled Cromwell, who thought of nothing but shaping his means to his end, and would have made more violent sacrifices to achieve it, had they been necessary. How Cromwell carried his purpose, and what iron nerve, clear forethought and practical brains he had, the imperishable history he lived testifies.

As for Manchester, he went into private life, and kept there till the Restoration, at which he "assisted," was appointed Speaker of the Peers to congratulate the King on his return, was made Commissioner of the Great Seal, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord of the Bedchamber, to the "chartered libertine" of that gay revival, and died full of age, in a strange place for a Parliamentary-General—Whitehall. But his death-bed was haunted

by no headless spectre, for he had all along been opposed to the execution of the King.

The Montagues, from whom he descended, appear to have always hung about the Court, and preserved themselves in high places; and it was the greater merit in the General to have stepped so far out of the family wake as to take part with the people. It is possible that the tradition of his Norman blood—for he was one of those who "came in with the Conqueror,"—and the reputation of the family for numerous inter-marriages, and consequent quarterings on the public purse, did not serve him when Cromwell thrust out his hand upon him. His great-grandfather had been married three times, and was one of the executors of Henry the Eighth; his father had also married three times, and held a variety of offices; he was married himself no less than five times, and towards the end had the usual family luck of fat appointments about the palace. It was his father who was Lord Treasurer, and who bought his staff of office at Newmarket, from the Countess of Buckingham, for 20,000*l.* It turned out an unfortunate bargain, for he was removed within a year; in consequence of which, on his return to London, somebody was malicious enough to ask him—"Whether he did not find wood extremely dear at Newmarket?"

But, to return from this digression.

The Battle of Marston Moor drove the Queen out of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange sent some Dutch ships to wait upon her at Falmouth, and in one of these

she transported herself precipitately to France, scarcely a month having elapsed since she had given birth to the Princess Henrietta. She had a narrow escape for her life in the channel, being pursued so closely by the stragglers of the Parliament fleet, that one frigate discharged several shots into her vessel. But the wind, of which she had the advantage, saved her. At the date of the following letter, she had already arrived at Brest. Gilbert Talbot seems to have been employed about her secret business. His correspondent was probably Sir Richard Browne. Lord Goring, who is here alluded to, was put upon his trial four years after, and was rescued from the block by the casting vote of Lenthal, the Speaker.

LETTER OF GILBERT TALBOT.

Worthy Sir,

I have this morning received your packet of the 24th, which challengeth my thanks, and this return. I arrived here on the 25th, and the same morning hired a frigate for Falmouth, which expecteth nothing but a wind; although I confess I yet expect my man and my trunk, whom I sent hither a month ago to wait my coming, but in all this town I can hear no news of him, and therefore I have sent a post to Rennes to inquire after him. If I hear not of him to-morrow by the return of my messenger, I shall bequeath him to the devil, but not lose my journey for him; although I must confess I shall go poor and naked without him, for he hath my money, my clothes, and the Queen's letters: even my

Dutchman Mr. Church begged from me till my return to Paris, so that I am all alone, and comfortless; but in your friendly remembrance of me, and your lady's, whose indisposition I much bewail.

I make bold to trouble you with a great weight of inclosures; that of most consequence is my Lord Germain's, which importeth the preservation or loss of the Castle of Guernsey, for Sir Peter Osborne is almost famished for want of supplies, and that which causeth great suspicion is that his lady is gone eight days since to London, in a Parliament ship. I have entreated his son (whom I found here) to steal over to his father, and convey him a handful of provisions, that may keep him in heart till my Lord Germain can procure him some supplies from Jersey, or these parts of France; and I may be able to represent to the King the exigency wherein he is at present. Good sir, send away that letter with all possible speed. The next is that to Madame Grotius, with whom I desire you to strike up an acquaintance, but seem not to know anything of the main business.

There is a Dunkirk frigate belonging to a Frieslander, naturalised English, and enabled by his Majesty's commission to take all rebels' ships, who is arrested for an unlawful prize, and is in danger of losing his ship. I have advised him to send you a short draught of his case, that you may assist him, and make him handsomely acknowledge the courtesy; but he is neglectful, and I will not press him to his own good. I have learned from him that the Irish have an agent at Paris, whose name is Dr. Hartecome; I leave it to you whether it may concern your knowledge and the King's service to inquire after him and his treaties.

We have here no news at all, but a murmur of a battle in

the West, which I conceive is begotten by conjecture, for no shipping is come from those parts these eight days. I can tell you, betwixt you and me, that my Lord Goring let fall some words at parting which make me believe that he will not stir till his letters of revocation be renewed. My best service to your sweet lady, to my little wife, and all our friends; and let me beg this favour of you, that you will esteem me as I do myself,

Your most humble, faithful, and

obliged servant,

GILB. TALBOT.*

St. Malo, 27th August, 1644.

My humblest service to Prince Edward, with my service to my Lady Banbury. I pray you tell her why I did not send her ring.

Soon after the surrender of York, Sir Thomas Fairfax addressed himself to the reduction of Helmesley Castle, one of the strongholds of the county. In Colonel Crosland, the governor of the castle, he found a brave and honourable opponent. Numerous sallies, without much effect at either side except wounds and waste of ammunition, led at last to a proposal of surrender. In one of these deadly onslaughts, Fairfax received a musket-ball in his shoulder, and was carried off all but dead to York, where for some time he vibrated fearfully between life and death. Colonel Crosland drew up the terms of surrender himself, conceived in a high military spirit,

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

and agreed to by Fairfax. The castle poured out its garrison accordingly with colours flying, drums beating, and matches lighted, on the 22nd November.

PROPOSITIONS DESIRED BY COLONEL CROSLAND, GOVERNOR OF HELMESLEY CASTLE, CONCERNING THE SURRENDERING THEREOF.

1. That the Governor of the Castle and all other the officers shall march out with their arms, horses, and all the rest of their goods belonging unto them, and to be safely convoyed to the garrison at Scarborough, without any molestation.

2. That the soldiers shall march out with their arms loaded, matches lighted, colours flying, and drums beating, and to be safely convoyed to the said garrison.

3. That the gentlemen, or others the countrymen, that came hither for protection, may have free liberty to depart with their goods, unto their own dwellings, and to have my Lord Fairfax's protection for their safeguard.

4. That the Lady Duchess of Buckingham's goods within the Castle, her servants and their goods, may remain safe within the Castle, or the town of Helmesley, under my Lord Fairfax's protection, as they have been formerly without interruption.

5. That any goods within the Castle belonging to any gentleman in the country, or to any other whatsoever, may have three days' time after the surrender thereof for the disposing of them, and to have my Lord Fairfax's protection for their convoy.

6. That there may be carriages procured for the conveying

of two little drakes, arms and other baggage along with them, unto the garrison before mentioned.

7. That the Castle of Helmesley be absolutely demolished, and that no garrison hereafter be kept there by either party.

8. That in performance of these articles, Lieutenant Colonel Forbes, and all the rest of the prisoners, shall have their free liberty; and that Lieutenant Spright, and five soldiers belonging to me, now prisoners at York, shall likewise have their liberty.

9. And lastly, that there be time given until the 16th day of this month, for to consider of these articles, in case there might be relief had in that time from the Prince, otherwise we shall perform these articles on our part.

JOR. CROSLAND.

Helmesley Castle, November 6th, 1644.

The time of the Fairfaxes was not wholly occupied in ditches and ramparts. They had a great deal of civil and uncivil business on hand besides, and sometimes had to do with Church affairs, which, considering their noisier occupations and the sturdiness of their prejudices, was probably the most disagreeable part of their functions. We have a bundle of letters from Lord Howard about the presentation to the living of Wheldrake, which he was anxious to procure for a Mr. Tindall; and after importuning Lord Fairfax grievously upon the subject, and finally succeeding in obtaining the appointment, it turned out that Mr. Tindall could not undertake the journey, so that his lordship's intercession went for nothing, except to impose a great deal of useless trouble upon Lord Fairfax.

The Doctor Peter du Moulin, whose sequestered benefice was so eagerly looked after by Lord Howard, may be noted chiefly as a zealous Calvinist, and as the author of a book which made a great tumult in its day, and which was intended to rouse the indignation of the whole world against the Parliament that put the King to death, but which book the world has entirely forgotten, although it has a vivid recollection of the King's "martyrdom." Upon a page of a copy of this book, which is called "Histoire des Nouveaux Presbyteriens Anglois et Escossais," preserved in the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, there is a curious MS. statement in the handwriting of Du Moulin, in which, after telling us that he had made a vow that, as far as Latin and French could go in the world, he would make the King's cause known, he gives this account of the book itself:—"To pay my vow I first made this book, which was begun at York during the siege in a roome whose chimney was beaten down by the canon while I was at my work; and after the siege, and my expulsion from my rectory at Wheldrake, it was finisht in an underground cellar, where I lay hid to avoid warrants that were out against me from committees to apprehend me, and carry me prisoner to Hull. Having finisht the book, I sent it to be printed in Holland by the means of an officer of the master of the portes at London, Mr. Pompeo Calandrini, who was doing great and good services to the King in that place. But the King being dead, and the face of publique

businesses altered, I sent for my manuscript out of Holland, and reformed it for the new King's service. And it was printed, but very negligently, by Samuel Browne, at the Haghe." And the "new King" was not unmindful of all this hiding in cellars, and writing in canonaded rooms, for suffering Peter leaped into Whitehall the moment his Majesty was restored, and had his revenge upon the hide-and-seek of the Commonwealth in the shape of a private chaplaincy at the palace, and a prebendal stall at Canterbury, upon whose downy cushions he fell asleep in the eighty-fourth year of his age, but not, however, says Dr. Burnet, till he had recanted many of the staunch opinions he had made such a noise about.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY NOBLE FRIEND, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

I am advertised that upon some complaints, and just articles exhibited against Doctor Du Moulins, rector of the church in Wheldrake, that the standing committee at York have sequestered the profits of his benefice, and intend to eject him of the same, giving your lordship fit opportunity to commend another; wherein, my lord, I beseech you consider me thus far, that having the right of presentation at other times belonging unto me, and at this present a chaplain, very orthodoxal, to deserve it, that your lordship will please to allow me the like favour you have done my Lord Northumberland and some others, as to nominate him, when

Du Moulins is rejected, which I shall take for an act of great kindness done me, and be ready on all occasions to requite your lordship with the best endeavours of,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate friend and humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, by Charing Cross, 15th November, 1644.

FROM LORD HOWARD TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

ACCORDING to your letter and favour therein expressed to me, I here return you, with my most humble service, the name of the gentleman formerly recommended by me for the rectory of Wheldrake. He is called Mr. Tindall, a Bachelor in Divinity, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, whom by long experience I have known to be a man of unreproachable life, sufficient learning and consciousness to serve God in any place he shall be called unto. Yet, my lord, notwithstanding all this, I would not prejudice the present incumbent by any motion of mine. But, if he be lawfully ejected, I then beseech your lordship that I may present the aforesaid gentleman to your favour, having as clear a right to the rectory, upon a vacancy, as to any foot of land there, which by my patent, shown to Mr. Darley and Captain Harrison, appeareth, and I hope will be testified by them, with some respect then made known to your lordship, and here again renewed by protesting myself,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, this 10th December, 1644.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT, AT YORK.

My Lord,

Your second answer to my letter sent to your lordship, about the rectory of Wheldrake, doth double your lordship's favour to me; yet before your last came unto my hands I had, in all observance to your lordship's first letter, signified how that Mr. Darley and Captain Harrison had seen my patent, under the Greek Seal of England, wherein the presentation to the rectory at Wheldrake is past unto me (from his Majesty) in the most legal and exactest word that can be expressed; which I hope your lordship, ere this, hath received satisfaction in to clear all doubt concerning my title; and likewise, according to your lordship's direction, I nominated the minister, Mr. Tindall, whom I desire may be presented; assuring myself, that the testimonies I then gave him, both for ability and conversation, ... by all that know him. This my lord is all I can the present, until your lordship please to signify your further pleasure concerning this matter; and then my lord just as you direct, be ready with all obedience to express myself,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Ed. Howard.

Kirk House, by Charing Cross, 17th December.

LORD HOWARD TO LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

Upon all returns your lordship still evidences a full discovery of favour to me, which I shall always keep in remembrance, and wait occasions to express my thankful-

ness. Yet, my lord, to give answer to your lordship's last letter, dated the 23rd of September, I have acquainted Mr. Tindall with your intent thereof, who is very willing to close with the opportunity and hasten the undertaking of the cure, but for the present is unhappily engaged to attend business for some part of the next term, and therefore hath earnestly intimated to me to move your lordship for some respite, which, if your lordship shall think inconvenient, I shall without further delay apply myself to your lordship's next intimation, and in the mean time crave pardon that I have thus often importuned your lordship's trouble, being so desirous to appear

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, this 7th of January, 1644. [*N. S.* 1645.]

LORD HOWARD TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MY HONOURED LORD,

I LATELY made it my request to your lordship, by Mr. Darley, that you would please to respite for some little time the Wheldrake Church until that Mr. Tindall had disengaged of some employment in these parts. But since truly weighing how much I have trespassed upon your lordship's goodness, and that his undispatch from hence may hinder the instruction of the people there, I now wholly refer it to your lordship's pleasure to dispose it to what other worthy person you shall think fit; beseeching that he who is preferred may acknowledge your lordship's favour, with preservation of my title, that so I may thereby be engaged to do him what other courtesies lie in my power. I shall not trouble your lordship further in this business, since the gentleman I

nominated, full of worth to do service in the Church, cannot undertake so sudden a journey as I enjoined him, but shall put a period to my request in this matter, though not to the thankful acknowledgments of him that remains

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, 15*th of January*, 1644. [*N. S.* 1645.]

One of the incidents of most frequent occurrence during the war (particularly in the North, where clanship had stronger and more numerous ties than in other parts of the country), was the exchange of prisoners. Scattered through the correspondence there are numerous instances, from which occasional selections will be made here and there. There is not a single case in which such applications were not responded to with kindness and courtesy. Here is a note from Lord Francis Willoughby, touching the exchange of a friend of his, Major Benson, then in the hands of the Royalists. The occasion, and the right to ask this favour of Lord Fairfax, arose from the gallant conduct of Lord Willougby, who had distinguished himself in many daring exploits, but chiefly in having stormed Gainsborough at midnight, and seized the persons of the Earl of Kingston, Sir John Orme, and others. It was in exchange for one of these gentlemen that he petitioned for the liberation of his friend Benson; and an endorsement in Lord Fairfax's hand-writing informs us that the exchange was effected in favour of Sir John Orme on the other side, soon after the date of this letter :

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN PARTS.

My Lord,

I received a letter from your lordship concerning the exchange of Major Benson; your lordship's favour to me, in that you are pleased to take notice of me in it, is an obligation beyond my desert, which I have ever found in your lordship's civilities to me. My lord, I shall ever account it my greatest happiness whenever anything that I had or shall have an interest in, your lordship will please to command it; or that I may be so useful to serve you. Sir Benson, my lord, he is and ever was at your lordship's disposal; and myself to serve you, as

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

F. Willoughby.

London, December 14th, 1644.

It makes a striking postscript to Lord Willoughby's letter to add that this Benson, who "is, and ever was at his lordship's disposal," went over, not very long after, to the other party, and died on the scaffold, in 1650, for attempting the restoration of Charles II. Stranger things than this happened in those days. Monk, fighting on the side of the King, was taken prisoner at Nantwich, and, not being lucky enough to procure an exchange, was sent up to the Tower, from whence he emerged to take arms under the Parliament; "and," says Rushworth, whose simple statement of the fact is

very expressive, "after many revolutions, proved the famous instrument of King Charles the Second's happy restoration." Monk was made Duke of Albemarle for having accomplished that which Benson was beheaded for attempting.

The correspondence of this eventful year of 1644 may be wound up with a few miscellaneous letters, relating chiefly to the disorders and injuries arising from the licentiousness of half-disciplined soldiers and partisans. Friends and foes, the noble and the powerful, the humble and the defenceless, alike suffered from these headlong excesses.

The Lord Mulgrave, whose letter comes first, was the father-in-law of Lord Fairfax, and the reader will also remember him as the father-in-law of that spendthrift, young Sir Philip Fairfax, whose daughter Ursula was married to Mr. James Chaloner.

The writer of the second letter was Algernon Percy, who resigned the office of Lord High Admiral to Charles the First. He was charged with the custody of the royal children, which he held till the execution of the King. He, along with the Essexes and Manchesters, went into private life after that time, and came out again in full court bloom upon the Restoration.

Mr. Wolstenholme's circumstantial narrative gives a curious picture of the outrageous conduct of the soldiers. It affords a peep also at the condition of the roads, which were so miry and impracticable, that the honest country gentleman had no means of getting his family

to church (frosty weather excepted!) after his horses were taken from him :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY LOVING SON-IN-LAW, FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

I have, with no small alacrity, received intelligence of the many achievements whereof it hath pleased God to make you a happy instrument, and of your valour implanted in your sons, mixed with so much piety, that they also have made the public cause the whetstone of their fortitude. Military valour which carrieth with it much renown, hath been glorious in them, yet but a small ray of that perfection which dear Charles hath showed in his great encounter with death. This I mention not to beget a sigh, but as his nearness binds me to rejoice with you in the assurance he is gone to Him that gives and takes at his pleasure.

By this means, my lord, I have an opportunity to descend into the business of the attorneys, wherein something falls out which is like to lie heavy upon me, should it not be removed by timely advertising your lordship of the state thereof.

I understand by Sir Paul Pinder that a stay is threatened of the attorneys, and use is to be made thereof for the State's service; wherein my interest is not only involved, but it will appear a very hard measure to that good gentleman. For, my lord, if the works are conceived to be the King's, it is misconceived; though the King be my immediate tenant, and Sir Paul Pinder his farmer, yet it is upon account, and in consideration of many thousand pounds long since paid to

the Crown, and securing my rent; and should this be prosecuted, it will as well destroy my hopes of 1640*l.* a year, wherewith you are trusted, as an honest gentleman that, I fear, is reduced from a plentiful fortune to little else to subsist with.

My lord, the confidence I have in you, gives me assurance I shall receive a fair account of this business. Thus wishing prosperity to you and yours, and that the great Disposer of all things will crown you with success in your designs, shall be the prayers of

Your lordship's affectionate friend and father-in-law,

MULGRAVE.

London, December 9th, 1644.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

IN these distractions I cannot expect to be free from the oppressions and burthens which are incident to a war, although (as I am informed by my officers in the north) your lordship is pleased to afford them your countenance and protection upon all occasions in my businesses; for which I do return your lordship many thanks, and desire the continuance of your favour to them when they shall make their addresses unto you. I hear that the garrison at Wresell hath so hurt the house, wasted the woods, and impoverished my tenants of that lordship, that the seat there will run a hazard of being utterly destroyed, if that garrison be not either removed or better ordered. The disbanding of it and slighting the works, is that which I desire, if it may stand with your lordship's pleasure, and the service of the public, to which we must all submit. I shall study

by all ways to deserve the respect which you have been pleased to show unto

Your lordship's affectionate and faithful servant,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

York House, December 9th, 1644.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MY LORD,

I WAS resolved not to have been more troublesome to your lordship for anything concerning myself; but now I see myself lie open not only to be undone by plunder, but myself, wife, children, and servants, subjected to the violence and rapine of disordered soldiers, before and in the presence of your captains and officers who commanded them, and plunder in part justified to be allowed the soldier by the captain, when he had no commission to enter my house; two of my servants sore wounded who did nothing to them, in my wife's presence, and she forced to flee to her chamber for rescue, and there a naked sword tendered her by a young ruffian, who called for her and told her he came for money, and with fearful oaths that money he would have; and calling all Romish whores, wherein I thank God none with me are guilty. He had his desire in part, for he snatched a purse with a gold ring and a seal in it, from a servant that was giving some to quiet him. By the way I beseech your lordship to take into consideration, that the sequestrator gave this commission to one Captain Swaine, to sequester and appraise all my cattle, but not to bring them away; yet he not only drove them away, but gave divers of my coach-horses to one Captain Wood, who set him on work first to do

this, and who the last week plundered the same horses and two others notwithstanding. I showed him your lordship's proclamation against it. I made my address to his colonel, a very civil man, and he caused three coach-horses and a mare to be restored; but the other coach-horse and a pacing nag for my own saddle, the Captain keeps still; and now by Captain Swaine's means he may set up a coach, for he hath all four, and your lordship is well acquainted with our dirty country, that I need not acquaint your lordship that my wife cannot serve God at church with the congregation but in frosty weather. Cornet Lambert yet was very civil to her, though he took the best, and your lordship was pleased to say I should likewise have him again, you were so far from taking the rest. Some other colts never backed he detains likewise for his own use; he drove away my milch kine, my draught oxen, and five fat oxen, which were for my own expense, and are valued very high; and either I must purchase them or lose them. Yet I procured so much favour with Mr. Lodge, by means of a friend, as to have my cattle again, all but what Captain Swaine hath disposed of; upon promise to pay the rate within a few days, if I procured not your lordship's order to stay the payment. Truly, my lord, money is very precious with me, and where to borrow so much I yet know not. My sufferings are infinite every way; my family great, and consequently my charge, and for my own security I dare not now lessen. I beseech your lordship's order to quit it, or to abate it in some reasonable measure, that I may live; and for the abuses of the two captains and their officers and soldiers, that you would cause them to be examined by Mr. Lodge, and whom else you please, and upon certificate of their demeanour, contrary to their commission and your lordship's proclamation, your lordship would

make them examples for the safety of your poor servants and the rest of the county, and God will bless you in doing justice, and I shall remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN WOLSTENHOLME.

Nostel, December 22nd, 1644.

About three weeks since I had four fatting cattle taken from me for the heath garrison, and eight fat sheep. Those your commanders there yet gave me a bill for, but when to be paid God knoweth; but they set a value of them less than I am rated to pay for my goods now taken. I beseech your lordship give me leave to defend my house according to law, against any but such as show your lordship's commission, because I live in fear of my life with all my family; and except I have your lordship's warrant herein, I dare not do it; as I both would and could barely do in defence thereof.

Mr. Wolstenholme was the eldest son of Sir John Wolstenholme, of Nostel, Yorkshire, and was married to Dorothy, the youngest daughter of Lord de Vere, and sister-in-law to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

A couple of incidental letters from Lords Clare and Morley, may be inserted here :—

Lord Clare, whose confidential communication illustrates the occasional abuse of the protection system, was a man of no mark in himself, but derived a sort of reflected lustre from his brother, Denzil Holles. He was married to the eldest daughter of Lord de Vere, and in that way claims cousinship with the Fairfaxes.

FOR MY VERY GOOD LORD AND COUSIN THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE FORCES IN THE NORTH FOR KING AND PARLIAMENT, AT YORK.

My Lord,

I could not omit this opportunity of saluting you by Colonel Lambert, and having so many relations unto you of obligation, alliance, and affection for your own worth, I must needs let your lordship know of what falls within the narrow circle of my knowledge which may concern you, as desiring to be serviceable to you by all the ways I can. Sir John Curson who serves for Derbyshire, was with me the other day, and told me (which I think he had from his brother Sir John Gell) that your lordship had given more commissions for raising regiments in Derbyshire than the country could bear, and some of them to strangers to the country; and he complained also of your protection to Mr. Frechevile, with the countenance whereof he kept twelve pieces of ordnance in his house, and 200 musketeers, which he billeted upon the country, which was not laying down of arms, but keeping a force against the Parliament, and that Gell summoning and requiring his arms, he sent him your protection, and writ if it should not be allowed, he would be buried in the ruins of his house.

The copy of the protection and his letter I have seen, which if showed the House, would not be so well taken, and was called for by some malevolent to you both who had got some inkling of it. But Sir John Curson (I must needs do him that right) declined it, as unwilling to do you an ill office; all which I undertook to tell your lordship, so as you may do well in my opinion to acknowledge his courtesy, which you have understood from me. Take no notice to

him that I had any former traffic in the business, though I know you did it at my instance, which would trouble me the more that it should reflect upon you, and truly I am confident Mr. Frechevile is of so much honour as he will be very, very tender of your safety. But yet I would advise your lordship to press him to some certainty when he will further declare himself, and deliver up his house to the use of the Parliament; and if he should refuse to fix a time, I would wish you to call in your protection, and declare it void.

But I verily believe you will not be put to it, and that he will give you a good account of himself; and then it will be a good service to the public to reduce a person of his value and esteem, with a place of that strength, which commands a great part of the country, and would require a considerable expense of men and money to force it. And when he shall have done what belongs to him, then I believe you will give an account of it to the great committee, and withal I shall desire you to recommend him unto them, and mediate his reception, upon which his friends may take a rise to move further for him. So, wishing your lordship's health and happiness, with my service to my sister, my sweet cousin your daughter, and to Tom Fairfax, I rest

Your lordship's very affectionate cousin and servant,

CLARE.

August 18*th*, 1644.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

THE inveterate malady of the spleen enforced me to come to the Spa for my old remedy. My stay at Knares-

borough to that end has been ever since I wrote to your lordship. I intended to have retired myself to my own home, but was prevented by the sudden coming of your forces. Upon their approach I betook myself with others to the Castle, not knowing what treaty the common sort of soldiers might afford me.

In respect of this my infirmity, and the casualty of the thing, I would desire your lordship's pass for myself, three servants, and a boy, to repair to Hornby Castle, or some other place, where by your lordship's favour I may be at my own freedom without disturbance. Thus relying upon our former acquaintance, your lordship's good disposition, and this my reasonable request, I am confident you will condescend unto it without obstacle. The engagement will oblige me to continue

Your lordship's friend and servant,

MORLEY AND MONTEAGLE.

November 14*th*, 1644.

The "inveterate spleen" is as good a fact to remember his lordship of Morley and Monteagle by as any with which we are acquainted. It has not transpired whether he ever did anything of greater importance than drink Spa water, solicit passes for safe deliverances, and nestle himself up in quiet corners of old castles. Some five years before the date of this letter he had left off Parliament, and apparently gave himself up exclusively to his malady. And thus in this age of enlisting, drilling, and trumpeting, when men were in incessant motion day and night all over the kingdom, and

alarum-bells were ringing from turrets and churches, and even from the great gable-ends of factories and farm-houses, noblemen and others afflicted with the spleen, and sundry like craven diseases, might be seen creeping about in search of ease and shelter, taking no part either way, and holding their breath till the storm past over, ready to come out when the sky cleared, and sun themselves in the triumph!

A letter from young Edmund Sheffield to his uncle by marriage, the Lord Fairfax, relating to personal matters, but not wholly wanting in more general interest, discloses an instance of the readiness of base men to take advantage of social confusion and distrust for their own ends. The "grandfather" alluded to, who is so perplexed and maligned by his late steward, is the Earl of Mulgrave, with whom we renewed our acquaintance a few pages back, and whom we formerly knew, in the quiet times of the Denton Peerage Case, as the Lord Sheffield, a most respectable President of the North; now nearly in his dotage, close upon eighty years of age, and fallen from the high glories of fighting the Armada, and ruling the councils of the Border, to the humiliation of being torn to pieces by brawling hirelings. In two years from this time, poor old "grandfather" dropped into his grave, and the writer of the letter became Earl of Mulgrave.

"Brother Monmouth" was Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth. He and Sheffield had married two sisters, daughters of the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer,

who had been disgraced from his offices by James the First. Of Monmouth there is nothing known, except that he was a man of studious and retired habits, who kept as much as possible out of the way of history; and we are accordingly left to speculate upon the favour rendered him by Fairfax, which was probably to supply him with a pass, or keep the soldiers off his grounds.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE AT YORK.

My Lord,

I give your lordship many thanks for the favour of your letter of the 24th of October last, which (as all yours are) was exceeding welcome to me. I did your commands to my grandfather, who of late hath been marvellous ill, but took it very well your lordship was pleased to mention him with so much respect in your letter to me, and I believe he intends to write to your lordship, to acquaint you how Mr. Coventry (his late steward at Mulgrave) and some other ill-affected and malicious persons go about to asperse my lord's present officer there, Mr. Shipton, upon no better ground than the ground of ill-will, because their power is lessened and his increased there; yet they are so troublesome to my lord's officer, as my lord's service is much hindered by it, it being impossible for Mr. Shipton to follow my lord's occasions as they require, so long as Mr. Coventry and his malignant associates have the freedom and countenance to molest Shipton. Wherefore, my lord, I should be very glad (as far as the rules of justice will bear it) that Mr. Coventry and his abettors might be restrained from being so troublesome and

spiteful, and rather that they might have the beam pulled out of their eyes, than suffered to find out, if it be possible, a mote in their brother's eye; for Coventry, he gives it upon his own account, that he did pay to the enemy was in Mulgrave 100*l.* of my lord's money, without the least authority from my lord for it. Many things of this nature I suppose he is guilty of, which speaks what he is, and therefore I will say no more of him, but leave him to your lordship's judicious consideration how to keep him, at least, from prejudicing of my grandfather.

My lord, my brother Monmouth doth acknowledge your great favour to him, and both he and myself are your very humble servants for it, and shall be ready to do you any service we can.

My Lady Fairfax, her sons, are arrived here, which I hope will be to their improvement, if she can get money to breed them with, which I doubt is very much wanting to her as yet, but she tells me your lordship will be so noble to her as to send her a month's pay of her husband's salary. Truly, my lord, I think you shall do very honourable in it, and the larger you extend your favour to her in this kind, the more it will redound to your own honour, and the seasonable relief of a distressed widow.

My lord, I remain,
Your lordship's most humble servant,
And affectionate nephew,
SHEFFIELD.

November 19*th*, 1644.

The next letters relate to an event of some importance to the Fairfaxes, but of still greater importance to the country—the elevation of Sir Thomas to the

supreme command of the army of the Parliament. Philip, Lord Wharton, who writes these letters, was more distinguished by his tongue and his pen than his sword. One of the historians positively asserts, that during the battle of Edge-Hill, where he held a colonel's commission, he hid himself in a saw-pit!

FOR MY LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK.

My Lord,

During my being within doors, I forbore your lordship's trouble. In this kind be pleased now to pardon me in the receiving of my acknowledgments of all respect and service. Your lordship will, from many hands, hear of a vote passed your House, that no member of either should have any office, civil or martial, during these civil wars; and for the trial, that they will not be partial, it was this day carried, that my Lord of Essex should not be excepted out of that Ordinance. Two things upon this occasion I may safely say, that I would to God we had such a successor in all other places as your lordship will have, and that further than your lordship is generally involved in the Vote, you are not otherwise concerned or intended in it, that ever I heard of. This being so, if this Ordinance pass the Houses, your case will be with honour and comfort, for a general good, to resign your command over unto him who is properly to merit, and will constantly make good all the honour you can leave him. By the letter inclosed your lordship will see what is the King's answer, and what upon the delivery of it was said by my Lord Duke of Richmond.

I am your lordship's most humble servant,

P. Wharton.

December 17*th*, 1644.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK.

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge my obligation for your last and many other favours. The worst news I can send you is, that there is none, our business concerning the armies and officers depending yet betwixt the Houses upon great uncertainties, and all things in the interim lying very loose.

The way and manner of the treaty is referred to the preparation of the Committee of both Kingdoms, and will suddenly be brought to the Houses.

The party sent into the West after relief of Taunton is, by some unfortunate mistake (we know not how yet), returned, whereby the advantages we had in those parts are much retarded.

I am very glad your lordship's forces are so usefully employed. It is visible your lordship would work well, if you had tools; for your accommodation wherein, as in all other services, you shall always find me ready to approve myself

Your lordship's humble servant,

P. Wharton.

December 31*st*, 1644.

The appointment of Sir Thomas Fairfax in the room of Essex has not yet taken place, but it is ripening. Debates are going on in Parliament which are preparing the way for changes in the army, and in the conduct of the war, which must inevitably drive out all half-measures and the men who support them. In the meanwhile, looking back through the events of the year, and counting up gains and losses, it may be inferred

that the King's cause is reeling under vital blows, and that Parliament has now nothing more to do than to follow them up with swiftness and decision.

And of all men Sir Thomas Fairfax is the fittest for this hot service. He is in his thirty-fourth year; has seen the closest and fiercest fighting in streets, ditches, lanes, on the slopes of hills, inside and outside fortified walls, and upon open plains; he has been put to the worst extremities, and carried himself through them with heroic endurance. The time is gone by for men like Essex and Manchester who think forbearance the best policy, and that there is nothing risked in dealing tenderly with the enemy. The successes won in this memorable year must be pursued with vigour; and this is a function which demands younger blood and bolder spirits.

These successes were of the most signal kind: the defeat of Lord Byron in Lincolnshire; the conquest of several garrisons in Cheshire; the seizure of Helmesley and Pomfret castles; the overthrow of a large force of Royalists at Ferrybridge; the total rout of Prince Rupert's army, and dispersion of the generals, at Marston Moor; and finally the surrender of York, which made Sir Thomas Fairfax master of the North. Add to this list of advantages gained, the divisions in the King's councils, which prevailed in one shape or another from the beginning, but which had latterly broken out into open feud,—the strange meandering marches of the King after Essex, now hemming him in, and now letting

him escape, but bringing about no result beyond that of exposing to public gaze the pitiable spectacle of royalty in difficulties,—and the flight of the Queen in such suddenness and alarm, as to allow nature hardly time to recover strength after the tender pangs of childbirth: add these incidents to the larger events of the past twelvemonths, and there will be more than enough to justify the Parliament party in the enjoyment of an exulting Christmas and a confident New Year.

1645.

THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO.

PERSONAL INCIDENTS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.

THE CLUB-RISERS.

STORMING OF BRIDGEWATER, SHERBORNE, AND BRISTOL.

THE FLIGHT OF DIGBY.

THE KING AT OXFORD.

1645.

THERE is a gay letter, full of pleasant drawing-room gallantry, which seems to have dropped out of its place in the old Fairfax chest, and been left to take chance of ever finding its way into the daylight—probably because it is undated and unsigned. Nothing better can be done with this piece of stray sprightliness than to bring it in at once at the opening of 1645, a time when the whole country was beginning to look brightly into the future.

From internal evidence, this letter is nearly twenty years older than our present date. It belongs to the age of our elder Fairfaxes, the age of knighthoods and chivalries, of armadas and spurs, and maiden Queens; and it brings down with it into our troubled chambers, filled with the smoke and roar of civil war, a tone of leisure and playfulness that steals upon us like a strain of old forgotten music. The Lady Mary Fane, to whom it is addressed, came of the stock of the Nevills of Raby, who were interlaced with many renowned nobilities, and had many titular honours smouldering like half-extinguished brands upon their hearth. She was the only daughter of the fourth Lord Abergavenny, and was married to Sir Thomas Fane, a descendant of

some huge, misty Welshman, called Howell ap Vane, who is said to have lived long before the Conquest,—a circumstance by no means so remarkable as the fact that the Fanes founded the house of Westmoreland. Upon the death of her father, Lady Mary claimed the barony of Abergavenny, but failed, after a long investigation, the House of Lords deciding that it went with the male heirs. By way of compensation, however, for this disappointment, they granted letters patent for reviving in her the ancient barony of Le Despencer, one of the numerous titles enrolled in her house of houses. The Lord Westmoreland alluded to in the letter, was her son, who was admitted to the peerage as Baron Burghersh and Earl of Westmoreland, in 1624; and as her ladyship died in 1626, this letter must have been written in the interval. The writer appears to have had something of the bantering youthfulness of Horace Walpole in his old age; and if he puts on the airs of a wintry beau with less grace and sparkle, the reader will be tempted to suspect, perhaps, that he has a little more muscle to fall back upon. The initials are those of Sir Francis Rokeby, who, if he was a son of Sir Thomas Rokeby of Rokeby, (as we are justified in conjecturing) must have been at this time a gentleman of ruined fortunes. So urgent were the necessities of Sir Thomas, that he had already sold the ancestral domains to a Mr. Robinson, in whose line they continued until they passed by purchase into the hands of Mr. Morritt, the friend of Sir W. Scott.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LADY MARY FANE, HUMBLY.

Welcome from Windsor, my most good Lady Mary; then I must ask, madam, how they all stand as to health at Bray,* and thereabouts. You must answer well if they be so; if not—mum, for I take no pleasure in ill news. Now I must inquire how it was with you for diversion—which way you disposed of yourselves all day; and expect to be told that the men were no sooner up, and had laid in a good stock of breakfast, than they bolted abroad with their dogs and guns; whilst we of the more refined metal, not made for labour and dirty work, found delights more acceptable at home. I said my own prayers, and read homilies to the family; my sisters practised upon the spinnet, and my lady had the satisfaction of hearing all. I think there is no reason for searching out what use was made of evenings. I can guess the sportsmen brought home that little they had taken a great deal of pains for; you helped to eat it, took each a glass or two of wine, then scraped three or four sweethearts out of the ashes, and so to bed. Now, madam, I must take leave to make one step from country to court, and would be glad to know what sort of behaviour the new Spanish monarch has shown amidst the glory of our English beauties; whether he have well learned the art to ogle without squinting; whether he can make an amour without words; whether his Austrian lips can kiss without slobbering; whether he be a man of stratagem amongst ladies, as I hope he will prove in war; and whether he have not a double countenance—one to please women, the other to fright men. I am satisfied your ladyship

* Between Maidenhead and Windsor.

cannot be absolutely certain in your answer, but your acquaintance with so many gay things that know all may make you guess at a little.

Now, madam, the tables must turn, and it is upon your part to put the questions; so you must begin. Welcome from Fincett and Southwick,* my most sweet Sir Francis. Pray give me an account, for I cannot imagine what employment you could spend your time upon at those two places fifteen or sixteen days together. Why, I will tell you, madam. In so mixed a multitude, perhaps there never was a more agreeable conversation, for you must know the whole family of Southwick (Dim only excepted) were the first half time at Fincett, and the other half the whole family of Fincett at Southwick. Sometimes, when the company were inclinable for a talk, you cannot think with what admirable handsomeness the pleasing condescensions of Lady and Lord Westmoreland, the sweet, obliging tempers of the ladies, Mary, Susan, and Rachel, were discoursed of; but when the pretty conceits of my little hop-about Dallison were once thought on, it was a general mirth.

I know the next question must naturally be, what my old, fusty, dying carcase, having lost the pleasure of taste and sight, should do amongst so much youth and spirit, there being a vast difference betwixt sky and earth. Why, truly, madam, it was not by choice, for I was hurried away by arbitrary power, whether in cart or coach I cannot well say, but sure I am it had wheels. Neither do I know but that I might be of some use, for by looking on a man half in the grave, perhaps it would make them think a little upon their own mortality. I will not undertake to tell which of the

* Southwick, in the county of Southampton.

ladies danced best, nor who of the men drank most, they being excellencies. I have no skill in, nor will I make comparison with, where you have been; but this I will venture at, as you were all countesses and kings, we were all gentlewomen and squires of her Majesty's peace. Thus, my dear Lady Mary, in having given you a slight description of a fortnight's living, I have so far killed myself that I am not able to say more, but wish you every year all the happiness this world can afford, till God shall call you to a better enjoyment in that to come, and am,

My most good madam,

Your honour's most humble and obedient,

F. R.

From what has been seen of jealousies, piques, and differences amongst the commanders of the army, the business of Parliament was clear at the opening of 1645; but the way to the execution of it was crooked and difficult. There were two opinions as to the management of the war: the one for delay and compromise, the other for slipping the hounds in full cry on the King-hunt. Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, and most of the high Parliament men, who stood on their traditions and aristocratic associations, were of the former way of thinking; Fairfax, (who was a thorough soldier, and nothing more, and saw all questions through that violent medium), Cromwell, and the whole movement party of the Parliament, were of the latter. Such a conflict might have done no great mischief in Westminster; in the councils of the army it

was fatal. It is in some sort the business of Parliament to doubt and discuss—it is the express function of an army to act. Parliament may be made up of hundreds of atoms of crotchets, throwing out their antennæ in as many diverging directions ; but an army ought to have only one mind, and move in a mass only to one end. To bring about this desirable consummation, and (in order to bring it about) to get rid of the lords and shufflers, whose compassionate tears threatened to "glue the sword to the scabbard," was the design of that famous measure which is known to us by the significant title of the Self-denying Ordinance.

The pith of this ordinance is expounded in one pregnant line, in a letter from Mr. James Chaloner, who, busily engaged in the debates and proceedings, informs his friend, Lord Fairfax, at intervals, of what is going forward. It must be remembered that in those times there was no electric telegraph, such as the daily paper of our day, for the diffusion of intelligence ; so that information, even thus hastily and scantily communicated, was of incalculable value. The ordinance had passed the Commons early in the preceding December, and had been sent up to the Lords, who, after much coquetry in committees and conferences, had rejected it in the middle of January. The expression of a hope that no stranger should have the Command-in-Chief, is a plain allusion to Prince Rupert, whose position at the head of the King's troops gave great offence.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

Most noble Lord,

It is an infinite content to me, that your lordship doth continue so high an esteem of me, expressed by your letters of the 3rd of this instant, wherewith you were pleased to honour me: it is now my part to endeavour to deserve it, which (God willing) I shall do upon every occasion. The Ordinance for withdrawing the members of either House from employments either civil or military, after several contestations between the two Houses about it, is rejected by the Lords. I am sorry for it, in regard it is so vehemently distasted by the Commons' House; the enemy draws his greatest advantages as well from our divisions as treacheries. It is said that the King hopes, and hath (by some letters of his intercepted) so expressed himself, to make a good peace by means of a moderate party in the House of Parliament. Such persons in popular counsels are seldom liked, especially in such times of jealousy as these are, being suspected to be led by private interests, to the prejudice of the public; if there be any such in our great councils, I believe they will be singled out, to their dishonour, when it shall be held seasonable to call them to question.

There is a design to have the Militia new moulded; if it be so, then I could wish, and I hope it will be so provided for, that our own forces in all parts shall exceed the auxiliaries; and that no stranger, but one of our own nation, have the command in chief. It is probable Sir T. Fairfax will be called up to be general of the horse. I hear Sir W. Witherington is come to the Hague in

Holland, and that my Lord of Newcastle is thought to be coming also thither. I fear considerable forces will in the way of volunteers arrive to molest us. The Treaty your lordship hath heard is voted, with the manner, but partly because the differences are so great, and for that neither party is yet reduced to a condition of despair, the issue of it I fear will be so far from healing the wound, that it will be only an occasion to inflame it the more.

Canterbury on Friday last lost his head on Tower Hill; for so much as I have observed in his composition, he was a man of a bold and austere nature, witty, but exceeding short of that prudence, which, in a person of his dignity, and of so high respect with the King as he was, was requisite.

My lord, I should be most willing to present your lordship with anything worthy your consideration; but fearing that I have but overmuch trespassed upon your patience, and interrupted your great affairs, I will, sir, cease to say for the present more than that I am,

My lord,

Your most humble, most faithful,

and most affectionate nephew and servant,

JAMES CHALONER.

London, January 14*th*, 1644, [*N.S.* 1645.]

My wife presents to your lordship her most humble duty and service.—J. C.

In the midst of these stirring events we must not forget that the little wife, who presents her humble duty and service to his lordship, was the Ursula Fairfax, to whom the pretty love-letter (which, it is to

be hoped, the reader remembers,) was addressed, by Mr. James Chaloner, nearly, to a day, ten years before.*

The anticipation respecting Sir Thomas Fairfax fell short of the mark. Instead of making him General of the horse, the Commons made him Generalissimo of horse and foot. Nor did they give much breathing time to the Lords after the rejection of the ordinance, but took the matter at once into their own hands, and went on re-modelling the army. On the 21st January (six days after the Lords had expelled the ordinance) they made out the appointment of the new commander, and sent for him into the country to attend upon them. In the meanwhile we hear about the progress of affairs from Lord Wharton (he who hid himself in the sand-pit at Edgehill) and Sir Thomas Widdrington. The ordinance for new-modelling the army, alluded to in these letters, must not be confounded with the Self-denying Ordinance.

PHILIP LORD WHARTON TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

I received your lordship's of the 25th of January concerning Dr. Bathurst, to whom I shall be very ready and forward to do any good office upon your lordship's recommendation.

There is no great news stirring from without doors. Within we are entertained principally with the modelling of a new

* Fairfax Correspondence, Memoir I. lxxviii.

army, which is so far passed, as that both Houses have resolved to rob the North of a good friend of its and yours.*

The Ordinance this day passed the Lord's House with an amendment or two for the taking of the Covenant, and approbation of the officers by both Houses. Another of our endeavours is to advance the Scotch army's march more southwards, for which preparations of money, arms, and other accommodations are now in agitation, and so forward as we hope will give good encouragement.

In the meantime, the Commissioners of both sides intend the Treaty † very earnestly, but as yet there is not any one step gained. Thursday was spent in civilities, and viewing of powers; Friday, Saturday, and Monday in the proposition upon religion, the King's commissioners having employed the first two days in questions and demands about Church government; and yesterday till eleven at night being wholly employed upon the business of Episcopacy, whereunto notwithstanding they would give no full answer. What hath been the issue of this day's work is not come to my knowledge, only thus far, the business appointed to be treated on is about the Militia.

My lord,

I am your lordship's most humble servant,

P. Wharton.

Colonel White told me he would remind your lordship of a business I spoke to him in, that, upon the sequestration of Grinton vicarage in Mardale, an honest, faithful, full godly man might be put in, who might be of a bold spirit and an able body; which two last are absolutely necessary, considering

* Sir T. Fairfax. † Treaty of Uxbridge.

the roughness and multitude of the people, and the wildness of the place, and having two chapels under his care, (that of Meteners being eight or nine miles distant,) where it will be fit for him to exercise every office on every third Lord's day, and whence a great part of his means ariseth. Most of the Dale are my tenants, and I should be exceedingly glad, therefore, out of that respect, as well as the general, that it were well supplied; and would contribute my mite to his entertainment, if God enable me with an estate, and if such an active, honest man be procured. Your lordship will pardon me for recommending this unto you, amongst your other weighty employments.

February 5th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645].

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM not yet able to tell you of anything concluded at Uxbridge; having nothing yet but hopes, and those mixed with fears upon the Treaty. The Ordinance for the new model, as you heard by the last, is agreed by the Lords, with some provisoes added by them, which are somewhat qualified by the House of Commons, but not yet sent up to the Lords again. They are this day sent up to the Lords. The two principal provisoes are thus qualified, as I remember:—1. That the commanders and officers shall be nominated by the Commander-in-chief, but to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. 2. That all colonels and other officers shall take the national Covenant, within twenty days after they shall be approved of by both Houses of

Parliament; and that all other soldiers in that army shall take the Covenant at such time and in such manner as shall be directed by both Houses. The latter of the two provisoes lasted in debate from a little after ten till past five at night upon Saturday last. Sir Thomas Fairfax is expected here every day. It hath not yet been moved publicly that he should bring up any of his own horse, but to so many as it hath been privately intimated, it seems very fitting and reasonable; and so I hope it will be to the House. I am very well satisfied that so good a choice is made for the place which Mr. Clayton desired.

There is a letter sent from both Houses to desire the Scots to move southwards; and I believe some moneys will be shortly provided for them to hasten their journey. I am resolved not to hasten mine northward, till I see how Sir Thomas Fairfax settles in this place. I have no more to add but the presentation of my duty to your lordship,

Ever remaining, my lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

TH. WIDDRINGTON.

February 11th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645].

My Lord—I am desired by my worthy friend, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, to present his service and his suit unto your lordship, on behalf of one Francis Nichols, who serves under your lordship. The particulars of his request are mentioned in the inclosed letter, written from Nichols to Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

On the 18th February Sir Thomas arrived in London, accompanied by a few officers. Sir Thomas Widdrington

ton, who reports his safe arrival to Lord Fairfax, appears to have waited upon him at Ware, and attended him to town.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT THE CITY OF YORK, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL at this time trouble your lordship with little, and that in my meanest scribbling way, being newly returned from Ware with Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is very safely arrived here, when he was very much expected. He hath been with Mr. Speaker, and is just now gone to wait upon my Lord General. The Ordinance for the new model passed both Houses upon Saturday last, having been delayed for four or five days upon the debate of the provisoes mentioned in my last. Sir Thomas Fairfax is to nominate all the officers, and the Houses to approve. All the officers are to take the Covenant, or to be displaced, in case of refusal, till they take it. Two forts in Weymouth were taken from the Parliament, but one of them is regained; and it is said the town will be relieved. I have no more to add, but my duty to your lordship, remaining,

My Lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

THOMAS WIDDRINGTON.

I doubt Sir Thomas Fairfax will hardly be able to write to your lordship this week. There is nothing yet concluded at Uxbridge.

London, February 18th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

On the following day he was conducted to the House of Commons by four members, and found a chair placed for him, which he declined to use, standing bare, while the Speaker delivered to him the thanks and congratulations of Parliament.

We have further accounts in other letters of his reception, and of the condition of affairs in the country. It is pretty obvious from Chaloner's statement that, although there are some antagonisms to be reconciled between the two Houses, and a hard battle yet to be fought by the Commons, nothing more is wanted to success than to launch Fairfax in the field, at the head of a fresh army. It will be seen that his activity has been incessant in the matter of new-officering and new-modelling since he was before the House on the 19th February.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MOST NOBLE LORD,

I DO observe that Sir Thomas Fairfax's arrival is most acceptable to the City and House of Commons, but it is as little pleasing to some here as to them at Oxford; yet I hope his fidelity, courage, and vigilance (by the blessing of God) will blast the designs of his maligners, either secret or professed. The militia in these parts have been either actually mutinous, or inclined to be so, about their pay, and refuse to march under Sir W. Waller. The want of pay is the reason that we have need, once in six weeks, of a recruit. But the soldiers' unwillingness to march under any

officers but their own, proceeds from the factiousness of some of their prime commanders, who being removed, and the soldier receiving a constant pay, (which they are now promised,) no doubt but they will give due obedience to such officers as the Parliament shall set over them. Yet, lest that upon the removing of their officers the soldiers should mutiny or disband, and by that means give the enemy advantage to fall into our quarters, I could wish, that, before this be done, the forces now to be raised, or a competent number of them, were drawn into their quarters to awe them, and secure the counties, whatsoever should happen.

The Treaty (I never thought other) determined with the time. None of the three propositions being granted, what success could we expect, when it was too manifest how broken we were in our counsels as well as in our army; besides the loss of Weymouth—a port most fit to let in the French, (who, I am of opinion, together with a party of Irish, who are permitted to land, and are allowed quarter in Britain, will invade us this summer); if from Melcombe Regis, situated on the other bank of the river, we cannot prevent it. It is apparent this Treaty from the other side was but with an intention to undermine us, not to compose the differences really; for how have they varied in the carriage of it? First, when our Commissioners attended with the propositions at Oxford, the King promised to send them an answer by messengers of his own, for which end he desired a safe-conduct for two lords to come to the Parliament, which was granted; but the lords arriving, instead of an answer to the propositions, a time and place was desired for Commissioners to meet at, for the discussing, &c. The time, place, and commissioners, and the matters to be treated of were agreed on. Then, after twenty

days' debate, and nothing concluded, the other side broached a new motion, which was, that the Parliament should take into consideration how to secure his Majesty's person from violence, and he would come to treat with them at Westminster.

Yet I believe the enemy is extremely appalled at the loss of Shrewsbury, the key of North Wales, as Gloucester is of the south part. Prince Maurice, by this means, will be able to do the King little service in those parts of the recruiting his army; so he must now rely only upon Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall, for men and contribution; for I make account he is so straitened and wasted in his head-quarter about Oxford, that there are neither men, moneys, horses, nor victuals to be had there. How he will be able, without foreign aid, to bring an army into the field this summer I see not. For us, if moneys can be procured, (as I believe they will), to be advanced upon Sir Thomas Fairfax's ordinance, no question but we shall have him at the head of a gallant army, which if it can but remove the Cavalier out of his head quarter, they will not be able to subsist, without foreign help, six months after. Yet no wonder is it if the King break the Treaty, and desire to come in person, when he perceiveth how loose some among us sit in the saddle.

My lord, I desire your pardon for troubling you with so long a letter; which I have done, not that I do not conceive your lordship understands these affairs better than myself, but only that in delivering of my own apprehension I might show myself to be willing to do your lordship the respects and service of a

Most affectionate and humble nephew and servant,

JAMES CHALONER.

February 24th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT THE CITY OF YORK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

FOR such things as concern Sir Thomas Fairfax you will have them from other hands. He hath the list of officers ready, and I believe will present it this day to the House of Commons. The Treaty at Uxbridge is ended. The Commissioners returned home yesterday, nothing at all being concluded upon. The Dutch Ambassadors yesterday also presented their advice to the Houses, to call a national Synod, for settling of certain differences in point of government in the Church, to whom no answer hath been as yet given in that particular, the consideration of it being referred to the Committee of both Kingdoms. This day news are come of the taking of Shrewsbury: the castle not being as yet taken. I hear the town was gotten with few blows. The Ordinance for the Scottish moneys is passed both Houses, and now in print. We are at a stand for the present in the Ordinance for the army, because the model of it is not yet presented to the House from the Committee of both Kingdoms.

This day the Commissioners of the Treaty gave an account of their proceedings to the House, and were thanked for their pains and fidelity. And it is well hoped that, though this Treaty hath not produced a peace abroad, yet it will beget a better union at home. Thus, with my humble service presented to your lordship, I take leave to remain,

My Lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

THOMAS WIDDRINGTON.

February 25th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT THE CITY OF YORK, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE list of officers presented by Sir Thomas Fairfax to the House of Commons is approved there with some alterations, and was this day sent to the Lords with desire of their speedy concurrence. One fort at Weymouth is regained, and Melcombe Regis in a better condition than could be expected, though Goring hath now set up his regiment before it. Waller and Cromwell are both going that way. Shrewsbury, as you have heard, is taken, and we had strong reports of the retaking of it, but without truth. We hear of Sir M. Langdale's going northwards, with 2000 horse, which I hope is no news to you. It is thought that his design is to raise the siege at Pomfret Castle. Here be some reports, but no certainty, of some Irish landed in Wales. Sir William Brereton, by his letter this day to the House, desires that some of Scots may march towards him, being now at Shrewsbury. The monies are now in good forwardness for the Scots, which is hoped will hasten their march. You will receive at Hull some powder shortly from him. It is thought that Prince Maurice, with some Irish, hath a design to join with Langdale.

Since I writ the former lines, certain news are come to the House, that Weymouth is miraculously regained, and Goring with a considerable loss gone away. On account of this, and for the taking of Shrewsbury and Scarborough, Wednesday the 12th of this instant is appointed for a day of thanksgiving. Our thoughts here are for the present much upon the North, expecting what will be the issue of Langdale's journey. It is very satisfactory here, that Rossiter was so closely on his heels, and wish that every particular be known

unto you in time. There are many here that plot as zealously to crush it in the bud as others do to bring it to perfection. It is hoped that money will be got in K. upon the desire of T. to furnish it, and such as follow in his alphabet; when the greatest part is for him. The wits of G. act in K., and it is feared in T. also, for no good. Robert Frank will serve for a schoolmaster in this case. With my service to your lordship, I rest,

My Lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

L. Fairfax.

March 4th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

The assent of Parliament to Sir Thomas's list was also communicated to Lord Fairfax by the Rev. Edward Bowles. This gentleman was a steady Non-conformist, and for many years private chaplain to Sir Thomas after he had succeeded to the title. A very curious anecdote, ascribing to him an important share in the first movement of the Restoration, transpired some eighteen or twenty years ago in one of the congregational publications. It is said to be well authenticated, and shall be more fully noticed in its proper place. The following letter discloses to us that at the time when Sir Thomas was engaged in these heavy and responsible affairs, he was suffering under a painful disease; and it also alludes to a fact which is not stated so explicitly elsewhere, that the Lords were materially influenced in the adoption of the list by the resolute expression of public opinion in the City.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE, AT YORK.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

ALTHOUGH the sad loss of a dear father which I have sustained since my coming hither makes me unfit for these kind of addresses, yet the constancy of that affectionate service I owe your lordship bids me make as few intermissions as I may in the tender of it. Your lordship hath faithful intelligences, to which I shall for the most part refer you, especially in this time, wherein I am shut up from converse. Only this, the Lords have this day passed the list of Sir Thomas Fairfax's officers notwithstanding their former refusals, and the disrelish it found from the Scottish commissioners. The ground among others that moved them, I believe, was this; the City, who are most considerable with us in regard of money, were ready to declare their willingness to bring in money in case the list passed, or to offer their obedience, though the Lords dissented. It is thought some scruple will be about granting the commission, but it will be stood upon, and I believe carried, that it be from the Houses and not my Lord of Essex.

All other particulars the Diurnals will give account of: only my lord gave me leave to mention something I heard from Yorkshire of the affront offered, not so much to Mr. Byard as to your lordship's power, together with the commissioners who sat with your lordship in the passing that sentence which appears juster every day than otherwise. To meddle with that affair here were to publish either that your lordship had not power to rectify such things and pursue your own orders, or that you would not use it, either of which were very inconvenient. Let me, therefore,

beseech your lordship on the behalf, not of Mr. Byard, who may be provided in many places, but of those poor misled people and your own authority, either to rid the country of him or to give order that it be done from hence, for no man will stir to the prejudice of any of your lordship's authority, and I beseech your lordship not to prejudge it. Such vapours, as these of the doctor, unchecked, will breed more clouds and storms in the country; but I have said enough, it may be too much, in this matter; but it is as easy for your lordship's goodness to pardon, as for me to do that which should require it. I have nothing to add, but that I am resolved to be

Your lordship's faithful servant,

EDW. BOWLES.

Sion College, London, March 18th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Your son hath been ill of the stone lately, and I have been constrained to be a stranger to him by reason of my sad condition, but am resolved to be so no longer.

The taking of Shrewsbury, alluded to in these letters, appears to have been a brilliant achievement, the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, being within fourteen miles of the town when it was stormed and taken by the Parliamentarians. The story is briskly related by Colonel Mitton, a brave officer, and a native of Shrewsbury moreover, who had large estates in the neighbourhood, and the best possible reasons for adopting the shortest way to insure the peace of the county. Colonel Mitton held the office of Governor of Shropshire, and had already rendered valuable aid to the cause by seizing upon Wem, and placing there the first Parliament garrison which had been established in the county.

For these services, especially his conduct at Shrewsbury, he received the thanks of the Parliament in person. In 1648 he was raised to the rank of Major-general.

LETTER FROM COLONEL THOMAS MITTON TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Honourable Sir,

I desire that you will be pleased to excuse my not writing unto you of the manner of the taking of this town. I do assure you that the rest of the gentlemen of the Committee did not acquaint me when they sent the messenger with their letters, though I was as deep in the action as also in the contriving of the design with them. Moreover I had conceived they had put my hand to the letter they had sent unto you (I being then in town with them, but busy in settling the garrison), they having showed me a draft of a particular to be sent.

If it may not be unseasonable or troublesome, I shall yet take the boldness to relate it:—One Mr. Huson, a minister, who came out of Ireland with the enemy, and some three months since came from them unto us, did often press us to fall upon the town in the place where it pleased God now to give us entrance. That day se'nnight, before the town was taken, we intended to have fallen upon it, but the night being exceeding dark and the ways extremely wet, retarded our march so much, that it was near day before we came within a mile of the town, so that we were forced to retreat at that time. The night we surprised it, the moon did shine till after twelve o'clock, which helped us so much in our march, that we were within a mile of the town

before the going down of the moon. I being at Oswalstree, twelve miles from Wem, and as far from this town, upon very short notice marched to meet them.

Our intent was to have conveyed our foot in a boat in the river above the palisadoes, that they had set in a row from the out-works of the castle down into the river, but that project failed us. Nevertheless, Mr. Huson and one Captain Willier, who came likewise from the enemy unto us as I remember about a month before, took axes and sledges and broke down the palisadoes, and made way for our firelocks to enter through them, with some forty horsemen that went afoot with them with their carbines and pistols, which we were enforced to make use of in respect we had not above sixty firelocks. At the first beginning of the breaking of the palisadoes they were discovered and shot at out of the castle, whereupon the alarm was given to the town, our men being at least twelve score paces from that place in the wall where they entered; but it pleased God to give them such courage and resolution that they went on with exceeding great speed, and scaled the walls with light ladders we had caused to be made. One part of them went toward the main guard, others went with their firelocks, beat their guard from the gate near the castle, and in a short time burst open the gate and let down the drawbridge, where we were ready with the horse and some foot. We marched with the horse direct to the main guard, where we found that they had made our men retreat twice, but we soon enclosed the guard with our horse, and then they did cast away their arms and endeavoured to run away.

At that guard we slew one Captain John Needham, and they two of our horses, but God be praised we lost not one man. Within one hour after, they surrendered the castle upon con-

dition to march to Ludlow, leaving their arms behind them, and the Irish who were within the castle to be hanged, which is performed. There was one outwork at the other end of the town, called Franckwell, which they held, but upon our coming against them they presently delivered it upon quarter only for their lives. God be blessed for this great mercy.

Prince Rupert marched this day within six miles of this town, over Severn, at a place called Byldwas: he is reported to be 5000 with those that are to join with him from Newark. Prince Maurice lieth this night at Chirk Castle, as I am now informed by a messenger from Oswalstree, whither I am now enforced to go, having received some intelligence from thence which will concern my being speedily there. I humbly take leave, and remain

Your humble and faithful servant,

THOS. MITTON.

Shrewsbury, March 15th,
10 *at Night.*

When Sir Thomas's list of officers went up to the Lords there were considerable doubts and many conferences; and it was not till the 18th—that is to say a full fortnight of terrible suspense, at a time when moments had the value of days—that the Lords agreed to the list. The Commons were thrown into such an ecstasy at receiving their Lordships' assent, as to send them up a message of congratulation, assuring them of their affection, and of their resolution to support them in their honours and privileges.

This was excellent policy. The House of Lords was the House of Obstacles to the Commons; but it was no

part of the business of the Commons to subvert the other branch of the Legislature, since, much as it stood in their way on pressing occasions like the present, it would have been much more in their way had it gone over to the other side. Be it observed, too, that no question had ever been raised about the privileges of the Lords, or even the privileges of the King. The whole question was the abuse of privileges, and the denial of rights. It was as strictly, therefore, within the province of the Commons to sustain the just exercise of the Lords' privileges, as it would have been to resist the abuse of them.

Besides, there was urgent work waiting for the approbation of the Lords, and it was more essential than ever to cultivate friendly relations between the two Houses. The Self-denying Ordinance had yet to be carried, for, although the Lords had already rejected it, the Commons were resolved it should pass, and had no sooner got Fairfax's list safely endorsed by the Peers, than they took up the ordinance again, read it a first and second time, and committed it at a single sitting, and in a week sent it back to the Upper House. Their Lordships had grown wise in the interval, and passed the measure at once. On the same day, 3rd April, Sir Thomas Fairfax went to Windsor, where he vigorously commenced his new-modelling of the army, recruiting the old forces, and re-shaping the whole into fresh companies and regiments. In three weeks from that day he was again in the field.

The most significant circumstance in the *management*

of the new-modelling was the evasion of the Self-denying Ordinance, by the retention of Cromwell in his command. Under the provisions of the ordinance, Cromwell was incapacitated, in common with all other Members of Parliament, from serving in the army; but it was necessary for the public interest that he should be there, and, after some little fencing with the difficulty in the first instance, a formal dispensation was obtained from Parliament in June, which enabled him to devote himself thenceforward to the camp. In the mean time, Essex, Manchester, Denbigh, and the rest of the obnoxious commanders, in addition to some whose loss was to be regretted, had resigned with as good a grace as they could put on under compulsion.

While these matters were taking place in London and Windsor, Lord Fairfax was overwhelmed by feuds and troubles in the North—clamorous applications for exchanges and passes, for the raising of subsidies, and removal of suspected persons, followed up by remonstrances in proportion, complaints of military outrages and personal indignities, treacheries and surprises, feints, skirmishes, and threatening notices, with a terrible clatter of fifes and drums, from all points of the compass. A selection from the correspondence of this period will show what sort of variegated responsibilities, independently of hard garrison duty, devolved upon his lordship.

From the following letter it appears that spies, carefully disguised, were going about the country :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES FOR THE KING AND PARLIAMENT, HUMBLY THESE PRESENT.

My good Lord,

I have stumbled upon an intelligence which I thought fit to be communicated to your lordship in way of the public service. There were in this town, about a week since, two gentlemen which came from Carlisle, and were making, as I am informed, towards Oxford. They would not discover their names. They were disguised. One of them had his periwig very long on his shoulders; the other of them was somewhat flat-faced, with his chin bending upwards; and one of them had his eye covered with a black patch. They left word with one ill enough affected, that my son, now in Carlisle (if he were not one of the two before mentioned), was in health, and in great account there, at which I did not much rejoice; but they gave an especial charge that they should not be mentioned to me until three or four days after their departure, which was duly observed.

They seemed to intend their return this way within a fortnight, which, if they do, will be about Monday or Tuesday next. If they could be lighted on in their return, they may happily better your lordship's information of the estate of that place. What to advise your lordship in way thereof (the malignity of this town is such) I know not, but I must leave it to your lordship's wisdom; only I thought it the duty of the Covenant which I have taken, and of the zeal I have for the cause now contended for, to give your honour

this information, which, with my humble duty, I present unto your lordship, and rest, my lord,

Your humble servant,

THO. DARCY.

Ripon, this 12th of February, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

The next correspondent is Sir George Wentworth, brother to the Earl of Strafford. This was the gentleman whose marriage with "Mistress Ruisshe" has been already noticed.* He was a Privy Councillor in Ireland, and writes, on this occasion, to Lord Fairfax, to thank him for the protection extended by his lordship to the Strafford family, or such of them as were yet left at the old seat of Wentworth Woodhouse, in Yorkshire. The young Earl (at this time pursuing his education abroad) was restored to his title and estates at the Restoration.

SIR GEORGE WENTWORTH TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE great nobleness you are pleased to use to that poor broken family at Woodhouse, is that for which we are bound, not alone in words, but in all other ways to acknowledge with all gratitude; and I assure myself, that nobleman whose fortune it is will so receive your favours therein, that in all thankfulness they will be returned you. Whilst he is attending his education abroad, be pleased to give me leave, as a person near in affections as in blood, and trusted with that

* Fairfax Correspondence, Memoirs, I. lxi.

estate, to render both in his lordship and my own behalf, very hearty acknowledgments to your lordship.

And, my lord, I humbly beg the continuance of your nobleness to that place and the ministers employed therein, as there shall be occasion, which I can no ways make doubt of, ever remaining

Your lordship's most humble servant,

G. Wentworth.

Dublin, March the 2nd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Of the movements of the troops about Bradford and Wakefield we have succinct reports in letters from Sir John Savile.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINAND LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE.

My Lord,

Being now drawn off with my horse and foot from Sandall to Bradford, Yorkshire, I thought it expedient to give your lordship an account thereof, and the reasons which induced me to do it. My lord, it was past three in the afternoon on Saturday last before your orders came from Colonel Forbes to draw off to Ferrybridge, which (though I used all possible expedition therein) I could not do until within night, and then began to march with not above 240 horse and foot in all; for reason of the sudden notice, many of my men were absent, expecting to have found no enemy either at Pontefract or Ferrybridge, but discovered them at both places, by intelligence from some of them whom we took prisoners. Whereupon we were forced to break up their

quarters in Longhoughton, where some troops of Colonel Carnaby quartered. We forced our passage there with divers of their horse and some men of theirs prisoners, and it was generally conceived most secure to make for Bradford, in regard we did not know how the enemy had dispersed themselves towards Leeds.

My lord, your lordship may perceive by these inclosed what a distraction this late accident hath wrought in these western places. I have been prevailed with to summon all within this division, from sixteen to sixty, to be in readiness with such arms as they have at Bradford, where both they and I shall wait your lordship's further direction to,

Your lordship's faithful servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Bradford, March 2nd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

My Lord, Captain Kenyon has assisted me hitherto with his troop, and is now with me. Major Scarfe, who was sent me by the Committee, has marched away without order; I desire your lordship's further order concerning Captain Kenyon.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE.

MY LORD,

I DISPATCHED my last letter to your lordship in haste, immediately after a tedious march, by which we were partly so toiled and partly so employed in securing our quarters, by reason of continual but false reports of the enemies' approach, that I hope your lordship will excuse me that it came not by a better hand. My lord, it pleased God

to bless and preserve us in the attempt beyond our expectation; for, my lord, finding the enemy both in Pontefract and Ferrybridge, which we little imagined, and having given them an alarm in both places, we were in that extremity, that we scarce knew whither to turn; but it pleased God to incline us for Longhoughton, where we broke through their quarters without the loss of any, wherein we took about 100 horse and some prisoners. This bearer can acquaint your lordship more particularly, being an agent with us in the enterprise.

We have notice that the enemy is retreating to Doncaster, but we hear of Prince Rupert's advance on this side Gloucester. Now that the country about Wakefield is not secured, the enemy at Sandall ranges at pleasure. My lord, upon the first notice I shall be ready with these forces to wait on your lordship to receive your further commands to, my lord,

Your lordship's faithful servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Bradford, March 3rd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

I HAVE sent a messenger into Nottinghamshire, and he is returned. I thought fit to send Major Scarfe to you, to tell your lordship the particulars; the enemy is not this side of Newark, and the messenger saw all our horse at their rendezvous on Wednesday, at Mansfield, and Major Carter told him they would be at Ferrybrigg on Saturday. The town of Leeds was too fearful that I sent all my foot

thither, and if I should have had occasion to have removed from hence, I might have made my retreat thither to my foot, and so have marched in an entire body to Tadcaster. So they remain there till I shall receive further order. I shall humbly desire your lordship we may have some match and powder, and that Captain Clayton's men and Captain Spencer's may be sent thither to recruit and enjoy with the rest of my regiment. Colonel Broadling I have sent for to come together at Methley, and to make good that pass. Yesterday, at 3 o'clock, he heard nothing of the enemy, but only Pontefract horse fetching in provisions; neither know anything of the cause of Colonel Forbes leaving Leadston. And he lay then quartered at Badsworth Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, for Sir Joseph Worstenholme would not let him quarter at Nostall. In haste, I rest,

Yours ever to serve you,

JOHN SAVILE.

Wakefield, March 14th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

YOUR lordship may remember your lordship's order to Captain Spencer for his march to the rest of my regiment at Wakefield, to join with me in securing Sandall Castle, which he did accordingly; since that (beyond my expectation) another order from your lordship is come to his hands, for his march to Colonal Bright's regiment, there to remain till the difference be determined. My lord, it hath been my desire from the beginning to put an end to the controversy,

if at least there be any; but, my lord, he being now with me in obedience to your lordship's first order, and this last order procured in my absence, and upon suggestions which Captain Spencer himself disaffirms (for he denies the supply of any either men or armies from Colonel Lambert), and besides the common soldiers being unwilling to part from the regiment; my request to your lordship is, that they may stay with me, according to their desires, their Captain's commission, and your lordship's first order; and if any exceptions be taken, I must solely own the fault, which I hope your lordship's candour will judge to be innocency in

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Wakefield, March 22nd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

I HAVE endeavoured to inform myself of their strength at Sandall, and find that they are one hundred foot and fifty horse, besides those fifty horse lately gone out upon a party from Pontefract garrison, and could not return to it again by reason of our leaguer there. I advised with the officers here, and the result was, that we were too inconsiderable to lie in Sandall, for we are not above 150 foot, now that Captain Spencer is marched, as (it seems) your lordship's pleasure is; and we humbly conceive 300 foot and six troops of horse, of fifty in every troop, to be a proportion small enough for that attempt; yet I refer myself in this, as

in all things else, to your lordship's wise consideration; waiting for your lordship's further commands to

Your humble servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Wakefield, March 23rd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

I have here only Major Scarfe's troop, my own troop, Captain Kinian's troop, and I expect Major Carter's troop, according to your lordship's order; so we shall want two troops more.

My Lord,—all the duty and charge of the horse might be spared, if your lordship would be pleased to afford us two pieces of ordnance, and some more foot to guard them, to batter the gates and drawbridge, and it would much discourage them, in regard they have no other sallyport.

About the same time, Lord Fairfax received intelligence from London, apprising him of the approach of a powerful force under the command of Prince Rupert, whose junction with the Royalists in the North was seriously to be apprehended.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM sorry to hear of the sad accident in Yorkshire. Is it very probable that the storm will yet be greater there. Prince Rupert is gone northward also; and it is conceived that Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and Langdale will, in conclusion, fall into one body, which will make a considerable army. The new model is not yet grown into an army. The

list of officers approved by the House of Commons is, in many particulars, disapproved of by the House of Lords, with a recommendation of other persons in their places, and this day sent back to the House of Commons, for the debate of which to-morrow is appointed. It is hoped that 80,000*l.* will be very shortly ready for this army by the help of the Court of Aldermen and the Common Council, which is to be assured unto them out of the monies arising out of the ordinances for the new model. A committee of the House of Commons spent Friday and Saturday in the last week at Grocers' Hall, in London, upon this occasion.

I have newly received your lordship's by this post. I should be most willing to wait upon your lordship, but cannot yet see how I can do it; and am very doubtful that Colonel Whyte cannot be spared from hence in regard of Sir Thomas Fairfax's occasions, in which his presence is very necessary and useful, but I shall let him know your lordship's pleasure herein. The matter for your lordship's army is not yet settled; nor, indeed, can the Ordinance be perfected till the model for the army be presented to the House from the Committee of both Kingdoms, which is not yet done, nor am I able to tell you the reason why it is not. There are 500 muskets provided for you out of the stores, and order for 1000 more to be taken upon credit. I have no more to add but the poor sentiment of my duty to your lordship, remaining,

My lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

TH. WIDDRINGTON.

March 11*th*, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

My Lord, since I wrote my former lines I have spoken with Colonel Whyte touching your desires mentioned in

your lordship's letter to me; and he hopes within ten days to be able to wait upon your lordship; and, for my particular, I hope ere long I shall obtain leave to do the like, for I am told this day that the model for your lordship's army will be presented to the House upon Thursday; and I hope, within a few days after, to have the ordinance ready.

T. W.

It is this day recommended to the Committee of both Kingdoms to move the Scots to a present march, and the same to be towards Chester. Some part of their money is ready for them, and will be sent from hence upon Monday.

The "late accident," and the "sad accident," so delicately alluded to by Sir John Savile and Sir Francis Widdrington, was nothing less than the total defeat of Lord Fairfax's army before Pontefract, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. On the Parliamentary side the loss was considerable, more than 1000 men, and all their colours and ammunition, besides several officers of note, amongst them, Colonels Armyn, Thornton, and Malevery; on the Royalist side the loss was trifling. This was, indeed, a very sad "accident," and one, too, which might have been fatally disastrous in its results, had it not been for the prompt measures which the Parliament took to secure themselves against such accidents for the future.

The wounded were numerous, and concerning their treatment and the exchange of prisoners, we have the following short letters from Colonel Lowther, the governor of Pontefract Castle.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Your officers will inform you how far you are short in medicaments, the number of the wounded considered. Here is a chirurgeon of your party that will go as far as he can with such things as he hath received. Your lordship will receive with this a list of officers and soldiers, if I may receive the like from you upon a safe-conduct. I shall send officers to treat of a general exchange, and remain,

My lord,
Your humble servant,
Richard Lowther.

Pontefract Castle, March 5th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Your lordship's of the 7th of this instant came but this morning: for the time and place, the first is precipitated, for the other it is at too great a distance. If your lordship please to give a meeting at Ferrybridge, upon mutual engagements for the safety of those who shall be appointed to treat upon both parties, I shall agree to it, and to that purpose desire a new safe-conduct for such as I shall nominate; the time, Wednesday next, by nine in the morning. The list your lordship sent of our prisoners with yours is altogether imperfect. I desire a particular under whose commands and in what regiments they have served, as also a list from Hull and Teressell in the same way. For your chirurgeon I cannot admit of him; but if the medicaments be sent, I shall join

my own surgeons with one of your party, a prisoner here, to use the best of their art in the cure of the poor wounded soldiers, and shall remain,

My lord,
Your humble servant,
Richard Lowther.

Pontefract Castle, March 9th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

The next letter, without a date, refers also to an exchange, the writer having obtained permission to depart upon parole, on strict conditions that by a certain day he should obtain the return of a Parliament officer of equal rank. He procured his man, but was unable to keep time "by reason of the siege;" and here is his manly letter of explanation. There is a reminiscence of the knightly age in the gallantry with which he holds himself ready to return, if required, "his lordship's true prisoner."

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

It may seem strange to your lordship that I never sent to disengage my word; the truth is, I never had any convenience by reason of the siege. The exchange is granted me for Lieut.-Colonel Forbes; only this doubt was made, whether your lordship would be satisfied with the exchange. I have stayed beyond my time, which that your lordship will be pleased to satisfy Sir John Readman, Governor of Pontefract, that I shall be disengaged of my word, he will, upon

the receipt of your lordship's letter, return you Lieut.-Colonel Forbes. In the mean time, I rest,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Willm. St. George.

If your lordship shall not be pleased to accept this, by reason I could not perform my word so punctually as I could have wished, I shall return your lordship's true prisoner, when your lordship shall command.

How grievously Lord Fairfax was hampered and tantalised by applications for exchanges and safe conducts,—the thanks being quite as troublesome as the remonstrances and complaints—may be inferred from the following specimens.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

Upon the assurance of your lordship's letter, or any other way that your lordship shall think fit, I shall for the time to come faithfully observe those articles formerly concluded of. My lord, if I were not again engaged to request your lordship for a pass for the Lady Cooke, I should not importune your lordship upon any other occasion; but if your lordship shall think it reasonable to be granted, I shall most readily acknowledge the favour, either in the like or any other occasion, and remain,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

R. Willys.

If your lordship shall think fit to suffer Mr. Rowbotham to come over hither, I shall give your lordship my faith for his safe return. If your lordship please to let me know what officers you demand for Sir Simon Fanshaw from Pomfret, I shall endeavour to effect the change with Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

Newark, March 9th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK.

My Lord,

Whensoever your lordship pleases to command me, I shall most readily acknowledge your lordship's favour in giving the Countess of Cork a safe convoy, by doing the like upon the like occasion. The governor of Pomfret writes me word, that Sir Simon Fanshaw is mistaken for a lieutenant-general, upon which his exchange is hindered. I do assure your lordship, by all the ways I am enabled to engage myself, that he was only lieutenant-colonel of horse to Sir Charles Lucas, who was the lieutenant-general. Therefore, if your lordship shall think the exchange for Mr. Mulling and a lieutenant proportionable to him, it shall be continued by,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

R. Willys.

I trust so much to your lordship's letter, that hereafter I hope there will arise no question concerning prisoners but what that may determine.

Newark, March 17th, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

FOR HIS EXCELLENCE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

ACCORDING to an order from the general of the Scotch army, the Lord Montgomery was pleased to acquaint your excellency with my capitulation of surrendering Naward Castle, and you were pleased to give me your pass agreeably. My lord, a party of the Scotch Horse conveyed me to Pontefract, where the Commander-in-chief, Colonel Forbes, undertook my farther convoy; but it so fell out that some party of the King's advancing, and your horse retreating, it was not held fit I should pass then, but I was modestly requested to retire to some place until your present affair was over, which I had no reason to refuse; but I went back to Gilling, where I have kept myself, expecting, within such limits as my present condition and your affairs require.

My lord, I hope your business will permit that I may now go, and I shall humbly request your excellency will please either to certify me by writing if it be your mind I should pass by your quarters, or you will please to command some officer or trumpet to convoy me the way least prejudicial to your guards, or business. My lord, your action in this shall seriously oblige,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

J. ATKINS.

Gilling Castle, 22nd March, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Of another kind is a petition from old grandfather Mulgrave, interceding on behalf of his tenants who are too poor to pay taxes, and entreating the appointment

of a ghostly lecturer for the town of L——. This is the last letter we find from Lord Mulgrave, and it is worth comparison with that famous first letter, in which he opened a correspondence with the Fairfaxes. His lordship was then in the palmy days of his Presidency, and he wrote as haughtily and with as lofty an expression of his aristocracy as if there was to be no end to the world as it was constituted at that time. But the wheel had turned round in the meanwhile, and the Fairfaxes were now at the top, and poor Lord Mulgrave was prostrate at the bottom, and he writes up to his son-in-law an entreaty for help and protection in a tone of forlorn humility, which makes most piteous contrast with his former lordly arrogance.

TO MY NOBLE LORD AND SON-IN-LAW, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My good Lord,

Presuming still upon your favour, I make bold to address myself to your lordship in the behalf of my tenants at Mulgrave and at Seaton, whose poor low condition I presume is not unknown unto you, by reason of the late heavy taxes laid upon them for the maintenance of the Scots army in those parts. There being now an Ordinance of Parliament issued for new sums of money to be raised in Yorkshire and elsewhere, my earnest suit to your lordship and the Committee of both Kingdoms is, that their miserable case be as favourably considered as may be possible, they being altogether, as I am informed, destitute of means for their own livelihood, and

likewise unable to pay any rent. I do assure myself, my good lord, that you will have a just and charitable respect of them, having (as I understand) borne a greater burthen than others in that behalf.

I must further crave your lordship's help in a pious work. The town of L—— hath 100*l.* per annum allowed from the alum-works, for a lecturer; that exercise hath been deserted by a malignant minister long since, so that the poor people have wanted the spiritual means they formerly enjoyed. Shipton, my steward, hath found one Mr. Nes, of whom he gives testimony to be an able godly preacher: if he be so, I do entreat your lordship to afford him your best furtherance for his establishment in that place. I doubt not of your lordship's care in a work which will be acceptable to God, and will also produce much comfort to

Your very loving father-in-law,

MULGRAVE.

March 30th, 1645.

Next comes Peter du Moulin, who had at last been forcibly ejected, head and shoulders, wife and servants, out of his living, and who in the last extremity appeals, but appeals in vain, to Lord Fairfax, the general referee for all Yorkshire discontents.

PETER DU MOULIN TO LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

A THING without example was done against me on Saturday, March 29th; for I have heard of no minister residing and serving God in his church, that was forcibly put

out, but myself. With what violence my wife and servants were ejected your lordship may know, and God seeth it.

After I had appealed to the King and Parliament, and that your lordship had promised me a reference to prevent the appeal, neither your promise nor my appeal was respected, but I was violently cast out, by persons that abuse your lordship's authority. The Lord regard it, that great Judge, before whom we must all appear.

My lord, I stand to my appeal, after which I conceive that no other power but King and Parliament can eject me.

To that end, your honour and justice will not deny me these just requests: That I may have a copy of the Articles against me, which I never saw: that I may have a warrant from your lordship to summon witnesses: that your lordship appoint some for that examination who may certify it under their hands: that I may have a convenient time to prepare myself: that I be possessed of my house and church till I be condemned by the power to which I appeal.

So shall your lordship mitigate the hard measure I had when I was condemned without a minute's warning, without witnesses, without so much as seeing the charge against me, or leave to answer the accusers' witnesses in the hearing.

Those things, my lord, cry for justice; and so do these:

After I had with great care prepared many young persons for the holy communion, and the whole parish expecting that blessing the next day, to pluck me off violently from this service, to put in my church a chaplain of Sir William, at the request of one household of notorious Anabaptists, that now keep a child unbaptised, teach community of goods, and reject all ordinary calling to the ministry as Antichrist's; against the many petitions, cries, and tears of above two hundred communicants, good Protestants;—to tear off a

faithful pastor from a loving people, a husband from his wife, and both from house and living; I say, my lord, these things cry up to heaven, and will shortly fill up the cup of God's judgments, and make it overflow, if not timely prevented by your justice and mercy.

Standing then upon my appeal and your promise, I humbly crave of your lordship a favourable answer to my just rights, even by the compassions of Christ and the fear of his great wrath; so shall ye draw blessing upon yourself by the charity and righteousness of the action (for I demand nothing but what the strictness of justice cannot deny); and by the prayers of my desolate parish, my distressed wife, and myself.

Your honour's most poor, humble servant,

PETER DU MOULIN.

York, March 30th, 1645.

May it please your good lordship to allow me the liberty of my house, and express your pleasure about these humble requests of mine to Captain Hoyle, of whose gentleness I must needs speak well. Not he, but the divines, expressed a great deal of violence against me.

The Fairfaxes showed much consideration and liberality to the families of the broken Royalists. It is pleasant to find the deserted Newcastles as much cared for as the Wentworths, remembering the gallantry which preserved Lady Fairfax at Bradford, and sent her home with an escort in the General's coach. Such actions were not forgotten in the crush and din of war by the Fairfaxes. Writing from Welbeck Abbey, Notts (now one of the seats of the Duke of Portland), the ladies Jane and

Frances Cavendish express their earnest thanks to Lord Fairfax for the constant favours he has extended to them, having evidently protected them on their estate, and otherwise provided for their comfort and security. These ladies were the daughters of the Duke of Newcastle, who, by the time the letter was written, had found his way to Paris with his two sons and his brother, having left his daughters behind to propitiate the Parliament as they might.

Bolsover Castle (also in the possession of the Duke of Portland), here mentioned as having been turned into a garrison, was the ancient seat of the Barony of Cavendish in Derby; and "Sister Brackley" was the Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, who was married to the second Earl of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackley. The writers of this letter were afterwards married, the Lady Jane to Charles Cheney, Earl of Bucks, and the Lady Frances to the second Earl of Bolingbroke, whose whole family were zealously devoted to the cause of the Parliament.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YOUR favours are so continued to us, that they are not only to be acknowledged, but repeated as comforts, since your lordship's care of us we may justly confess is much beyond our merit. Now give us leave to present our humble

thanks to your lordship for your noble favours, which oblige us as long as we live to owe your excellence a faithful acknowledgment. Colonel Bright hath been lately at Bolsover, and is to give your lordship some account of that garrison.

We linger our remove from thence till we have some certainty of that business, hoping, if that he concur with the committee of Derby and some others for disgarrison of that place, to have the favour to be admitted to that house, which we the more desire by reason that town is assigned to us for maintenance, which will yield very little, I fear, if it continue still a garrison. However, whatsoever your excellence's pleasure, it shall be most welcome to

Your lordship's most humble and obliged servants,

JANE CAVENDYSSHE,
FRA. CAVENDYSSHE.

April 17*th*, 1645.

My sister Brackley presents her most humble services to your lordship, and gives your excellence many thanks for the favour of your lordship's protection.

At the head of the list of officers of horse, drawn up by Sir Thomas Fairfax for the approval of Parliament, we find the name of Middleton. The person so indicated was, we presume, Lieutenant-General Middleton, who had served under Waller, and was afterwards, for his gallant conduct at Philiphaugh (September, 1645), voted 25,000 marks by Parliament. This gentleman subsequently ratted to the Royal party, for which he was rewarded in the long run with a Peerage, having

been created Earl of Middleton at the Restoration. No other Middleton of note, either for good or evil, has come down to us from those days. Evelyn tells us that he carried a Colonel Middleton, who seems to have been connected with the colony of New England, in his coach to Whitehall; but that was in 1671, a clear quarter of a century later. Who the Colonel Middleton was to whom allusion is made in the following letters, or under what circumstances he incurred the displeasure of Lord Fairfax, we have not been able to ascertain. Certain it is that he was not Charles the Second's Middleton; and that, whoever he was, he appears to have broken his promises to Lord Fairfax on the confession of his wife and sisters.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, PRESENT THESE.

My Lord,

Be pleased to do me the right as to believe, when as my husband parted from me, his resolution was according as I wrote yesterday to your lordship. I protest I knew no other, nor cannot rest satisfied till I send my servant to plead my own innocence in it, and to acquaint your lordship with the truth, which is this: that after Mr. Middleton parted from me, he had further confirmation of what formerly he had heard, which compelled him to that unfortunate place, as I perceive, so incapable of your lordship's favours, as I conceive by my servants for his own particular; but if your lordship would honour me in the continuance of

them, to me and mine, I would ever endeavour to deserve it, as that already I have received from your lordship may challenge as due from me, and the longest day I have to live will ever acknowledge it. Give me leave, further, to be an humble suitor to your lordship, as to blot out the memory of this, my husband's trespass. But esteem him as really he deserves—as one that truly honours your lordship, though his great cares of fears and jealousies might cause him for the present to forfeit your lordship's good opinion, but I hope for the future to gain it,—a gain which both he and I will be ambitious on; and in the meantime remain, my lord,

Your most humble servant,

KA. MIDDLETON.

April 20th, 1645.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

To vouchsafe me and my sister Ann your honourable favour and protection for our goods, and that we may not suffer though my brother hath broke his promise with your lordship; which I vow, my lord, I was altogether ignorant of, and it grieves me infinitely; for that we have ever found your lordship so noble a friend to our house. Therefore I beseech your lordship to commiserate our cases, who are left orphans, and for my dear deceased father's sake, who loved and honoured your lordship truly, let not us, who are innocent, suffer; but that your wonted goodness and favour

may still reflect and shine upon us, by which you shall oblige us ever to remain, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servants,

MARY MIDDLETON.
ANNE MIDDLETON.

April 20th, 1645.

A letter from Lady Osborne, begging Lord Fairfax's assistance under rather peculiar circumstances, shows how the machinery of protection occasionally worked. Lady Osborne (formerly Mrs. Middleton, a brave Yorkshire widow) was the wife of Sir Edward Osborne of Kiveton, and mother of the first Duke of Leeds. Sir Edward had been prominent on the King's side, had been Vice-President of the Council of the North, and a commander amongst the Cavaliers. In the course of the troubles he obtained a protection from Lord Fairfax, under his parole as to residence and neutrality. But news reaches him that there is a warrant out against him; and although "he is well assured that when his lordship had given protection he would not give warrant for apprehending" him; he nevertheless thinks that discretion is the better part of valour, and so runs away, leaving his wife behind to make what terms she can with the General. In this juncture her ladyship hears that the Parliament troops up in garrison at Bolsover, and others scattered about the country, intend to make a plundering descent upon her, and, as a last resource, she lays the whole case frankly

before Lord Fairfax. The latter part of her letter, referring to her allowance, and her "taking it up in beds and other household necessaries," shows the extremity to which people of the best condition were reduced—people who, under the worst circumstances, might be supposed to have good credit and strong friends.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

It is now above six months since my husband received your lordship's protection, and by it has lived quiet at his own house, desiring nothing more than to have continued so. But after Gell's men had taken Sir Francis Reed, they gave out they were to take Sir Francis Fane and Sir Edward Osborne; as my husband was informed from several hands; which gave him cause to fear that Gell had got some warrant from the Parliament to take them for the four committee men of Derby, taken by Newark. For he was well assured that where your lordship had given protection, you would not give warrant for apprehending their persons without cause given for it; but having no time to give your lordship information he was forced to seek for his safety.

Thus, my lord, I only wish to give a true account of the reasons of his going, because I know he has many enemies; no way to justify his actions. He must answer for them himself; but since his going, I am threatened both by Colonel Bright's men, the men of Bolsover, and them from Doncaster, that I shall be plundered; so as my earnest request to

your lordship is, that what the Ordinance of Parliament and the county of York has allowed me may not be taken from me by the violence of your soldiers. It is no more but a sixth part or degree below the ordinary allowance, and came to so small a proportion, that I was forced to take it up in beds and other household necessaries for myself and servants, which I doubt not but in justice and charity will still be allowed me. It is only in your lordship's power to do it; and by a letter to Colonel Bright to stop the men of Bolsover, and another to the Commander-in-chief at Doncaster, I assure myself I shall be freed from their fury, and be further obliged to continue

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Ann Osborne.

All my corn and cattle were sold to one John Garland by the sequestrators, as the committee knows.

Thorp, April 23rd, 1645.

The General's "protection," however formally granted, was not always a talisman against the licentious violence of the soldiery. An army ill paid, irregularly provisioned, and cast out for billets and assessments upon districts already drained by subscriptions and quit-rents, could hardly be expected to act with faultless moderation. Upon the whole they deserve credit for forbearance; few flagrant violations of discipline can be charged upon them; and in most cases (of which Oxford was a special instance) they were more careful than the King's troops of property which they might have destroyed with impunity.

Of course there were many just grounds of complaint against them. Whenever a Royalist, who held a protection, suddenly disappeared, he was suspected of treachery, and the soldiers made no scruple of entering his house, (or threatening its inmates), with or without warrant, and scaring his family out of their wits. Or if there were any difficulty about the billets, or any attempt to evade them, the troops, having this matter in their own hands, and being authorised to enforce the levy, might probably show little tenderness towards their grudging entertainers. In such cases, harsh and riotous excesses were no doubt committed; nor was it in the power of Lord Fairfax adequately to prevent or punish them.

But the soldiers seldom went beyond threats, unless they were in extreme distress, or had received singular provocation. The great bulk of the complaints addressed to Lord Fairfax, like the following letter from Lady Graham, are full of terrors in expectancy; and as we rarely hear any more about them, we may conclude that his worship interposed and averted the impending danger. So far as Lady Graham was concerned, there was excellent reason for the vigilance of Major Smithson's men. Her husband (to whom the letter refers) was Sir Richard Graham of Esk, closely connected by blood and alliances with the whole clan of the Grahams of the Border, of Norton-Conyers, of Netherby, and Plomp, and springing from the same stock with the Montrose who exactly twelve months before had been

raised to a marquisate by the King, who had played a conspicuous part throughout the war, and was at this moment raising Scotland in behalf of his master. The name of Graham, therefore, was not the most musical in the ears of the Parliamentarians, and Sir Richard was one of the most prominent and turbulent of the whole race. He was a great absorber of landed property in the north, had purchased Netherby and the barony of Liddell from the Earl of Cumberland, and was created a baronet in 1629. Placing his local influence at the disposal of the King, he joined the royal army in 1641, and was appointed Master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham. He fought through the subsequent scenes of the wars up to the battle of Edgehill, where he was so severely wounded that he lay the whole night amongst the dead bodies on the field. His close connection with the Royal family, and his notorious devotion to their cause, may be admitted as excuse enough for the watchfulness of Fairfax's soldiers when they found that this deeply-implicated gentleman, known to be living under "protection," had vanished, as they supposed, without leave. The time, too, was peculiarly unfavourable to the Grahams, considering how actively Montrose (not long afterwards hanged at the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for his loyalty) was just then engaged on the other side of the Tweed.

Lady Graham's letter is dated from Norton-Conyers, the seat of her second son Richard, who after the Restoration was raised to the baronetage on account

of the services he had personally rendered to the King's cause during the civil war. It is only justice to the Northumberland Smithsons to observe that the Major Smithson whose soldiers threatened to plunder her ladyship does not appear to have been any connection of that family. At the moment when the Major was menacing Norton-Conyers, Hugh Smithson of Stanwick, whose descendant, succeeding the Seymours and Percys, inherited the Earldom of Northumberland, was distinguishing himself with equal zeal on the other side.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT TRULY HONOURABLE,

NOTWITHSTANDING the protection I have from your Excellence, there are some of Major Smithson's soldiers who threaten to plunder my house, because my husband is gone to wait upon his master, having your lordship's licence for the same; and now, in his absence, Mr. Fowke, the Receiver, demands for the use of the Commonwealth, a quit-rent due from us, we having already paid it above ten times over, in billet and sesse [assessments] for the use of the Commonwealth, being much more than the land is worth. If it be permitted that private ends may once be mixed with the public service, we are in a most miserable condition.

My suit unto your excellency is, that you would give order to the Receiver for allowing our sesse and billet in the rent, and that some of your lordship's soldiers may apprehend those plunderers; for it will neither stand with the justice

nor honour of the Parliament to take such great sesses and our arms of defence from us, and leave us to the cruelty of such wicked men. So, with the acknowledgment of my humblest service for your honourable favours, recommending the presumption herein to your excellency's pardon,

I am,

The humblest of your excellency's servants,

KATHERINE GRAHME.

Norton-Conyers, near Ripon, Yorkshire,
May 12th, 1645.

The writer of the next letter, the Lady Julian Musgrave, was an object of quite as much jealousy and suspicion as Lady Graham. Her husband, Sir Philip Musgrave, came of what Camden calls a "warlike family," and did no discredit to his lineage. The moment matters took a shape of open hostility between the King and the Parliament, he withdrew from the House of Commons, where he had sat as one of the knights of the shire for Westmoreland, and applied himself to the task of raising troops for the Royal service. His labours were so successful, that in a short time he sent to the Marquis of Newcastle, at York, in two bodies, no less than 2400 soldiers, and 1000 more to Prince Rupert. For this valuable aid he was made Commander-in-Chief in Cumberland and Westmoreland, where his influence principally lay, and Governor of Carlisle. The battle of Marston Moor scattered his troops to the winds, and for a time completely frustrated his plans. After that event he retired to Carlisle

with Sir Thomas Glenham. It was while he was yet at Carlisle, under these uncomfortable circumstances, that the ensuing correspondence took place. Lady Musgrave had been permitted by Lord Fairfax to remain at Eden Hall (still the residence of the Musgraves, erroneously called Ednall, by Colonel Cholmley); but the Commissioners at Newcastle having intelligence that she had abused the indulgence, directed Colonel Cholmley to remove her to Carlisle. Her ladyship, however, was very reluctant to go to Carlisle; she wished to keep in the open air, and at freedom amongst her friends; and Colonel Cholmley finally refers the case, with a direct appeal from the lady, to Lord Fairfax.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS EXCELLENCE, MY LORD FERDINANDO FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE,

I RECEIVED an order from the commissioners from Newcastle, for the carrying and sending divers ladies into Carlisle; amongst others the Lady Musgrave, of Ednall, as you may perceive by a copy of the order here inclosed; but coming to the lady, she desired rather to go to live at Hartley, if not with her friends in Yorkshire, and showed me your excellency's protection, which presently I sent my servant withall to the commissioners at Newcastle. They returned this answer,—that they had rather she would live with her friends in Yorkshire, than give occasion of jealousy either by

living in Westmoreland or Cumberland. All which I refer till your excellency's pleasure be further known, and shall ever rest,

Your honour's faithful servant,

THOMAS CHOLMLEY.

From Ednall, this 8th May, 1645.

TO OUR VERY WORTHY FRIEND, COLONEL CHOMELEY.

By the Committees and Commissioners of both Houses of Parliament of England.

WHEREAS we are informed that the wives of sundry of our enemies in Carlisle are remaining at their own houses in Cumberland and Westmoreland, from whence they may give intelligence of all that passeth amongst yourselves, and are ready to stir the ill-humours and to improve all discontents, to the raising up of tumults, and bringing in confusion with the people and inhabitants, their neighbours, round about them:

We think fit, and hereby order, that Colonel Chomeley shall take care to apprehend all such persons as he may have just cause to suspect to be stirrers up of sedition and insurrection; that in particular he would repair to the Lady Musgrave at Eden Hall, and conduct her to Carlisle, where she may remain with her husband, Sir Philip Musgrave, in more security than in her house at Eden Hall, in these tumultuous and troublesome times; and of this service we expect an account as speedily as may be.

WILLIAM ROE,

Secretary to the Commissioners.

Given at Newcastle, April 12th, 1645.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS EXCELLENCY, LORD FERDINANDO FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE formerly received your lordship's protection for my remaining at Eden Hall, if I be obedient to ordinance of Parliament, which they cannot tax me, for my accusation is suspicion of intelligence, without desert or proof. Colonel Cholmley hath orders for my removing. I did desire the stay of us till I knew your honour's pleasure. Eden Hall is my jointure, where my humble suit is to remain, being very unfit for travel. But I wholly refer myself to your lordship's pleasure, both for means, and what place I and my children may remain together at, presuming that your honourable favour and worth will consider my poor condition, which shall ever oblige me to be,

Your most obedient servant,

JULIAN MUSGRAVE.

Eden Hall, May 8th.

Sir Philip Musgrave's subsequent history is full of honourable proofs of homage and fidelity. Soon after this time he was made colonel of a regiment of foot, which was raised in Cumberland; and in the same year he was taken prisoner at Rowton Moor, after which he took Carlisle by surprise, and was a second time appointed governor. He served at Worcester, and followed the disastrous fortunes of Charles II. in France, Holland, and Scotland, proceeding from thence to the Isle of Man, which he defended to the last under the

banner of the Stanleys. At the Restoration, he was a third time made Governor of Carlisle, and raised to the peerage as Baron Musgrave, but never took out the patent. Notwithstanding all the vicissitudes through which he passed, and the frequent perils of life and property to which he was exposed, Sir Philip died in his own bed at Eden Hall, at seventy years of age. Curiously enough, the Musgraves and Grahams are united in their living descendants by the intermarriage of the present representative of the former family with the house of Netherby.

In a letter from Mr. Thomas Ibson, the steward of the young Lord Fairfax of Emely, we have a minute account of the deplorable condition to which some of the most flourishing estates in the north were reduced by the ravages of the soldiers (especially the Scotch), and the pressure of assessments. Such was the impoverished state of the tenantry, that they were not only unable to pay up the existing heavy arrears, but were compelled to ask for indefinite indulgence in the discharge of the accruing rent. The question of rent, and the mutual responsibilities of landlord and tenant, seem to have been very imperfectly understood on all hands ; nor were the commissioners who had been appointed to arbitrate in such cases, much more enlightened on the matter than the parties who appealed to them. In this instance we find the commissioners ordering not only an abatement of the assessments, but a quittance of a whole year's rent, and a reduction of fifty per cent. till

the times should get better. What power the commissioners possessed to absolve people from contracts and running engagements does not appear; but according to Mr. Ibson's statement, nobody thought of questioning their decision, although it involved the glaring injustice of throwing nearly the whole weight of assessments and depredations upon the proprietor of the land.

The Lord Fairfax, to whom this letter was addressed, had not yet attained his fifteenth year. He was a kinsman of Lord Fairfax of Denton, and belonged to that branch of the family, which in the middle of the thirteenth century had settled at Walton in Yorkshire. His grandfather, Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton and Gilling, was raised to the Irish peerage, as Viscount Fairfax of Emely, in the county of Tipperary. The title became extinct in 1741.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, WILLIAM VISCOUNT FAIRFAX, OF EMELY, PRESENT THESE.

My Lord,

It pleased his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, one of the guardians to your estate, and who only taketh care of it, at the request of your lady mother, to authorise me to receive your rents. Upon his lordship's warrant for that purpose, I presently went to your tenants of your several manors, to demand arrears. The answer of them all was one and the same in effect, viz., that the assessments paid to the armies, and free billet, and freebooting, had so impoverished them,

that they were scarce able to pay anything. The tenants of Acaster Malbys, against my coming to them, had prepared a petition, which they told me they would prefer to the Lord General for relief, having sustained above 2000*l.* damage by the Scots, who were quartered there whilst York was beleaguered. This petition they preferred, and annexed to it a certificate under the hands of the sequestrators, appointed by the commissioners and committee for that wapentake, who are men of credit, attesting their damage to amount to so much as is above-mentioned. His Excellency referred the consideration of the petition to Mr. Henry Darley, one of the commissioners for the Parliament in this country, and Sir Robert Barwick, who called me on your honour's behalf, and your tenants of Acaster before them; which your other tenants hearing of, came to York to the two gentlemen and desired that consideration might be had of their losses likewise, and that they might have allowance in their rents past of all the assessments they had paid to the armies, free billet, and other losses sustained by the armies, and that they might have abatement in their rents for the time to come. Upon hearing what could be said on both sides, the gentlemen did order the tenants of Acaster, who had all their corn wasted, and the sheep, kine and swine eaten by the Scots, should have all their assessments abated, the last year's rent wholly forgiven, and that they should pay but half rent for the time to come; and such assessments as they should pay to be abated out of that too, and the other half rent to stand in super.

My lord, this lordship was almost a fourth part of your estate, and, notwithstanding all these abatements, I have not gotten out of it 40*l.*, and I have ridden five times for that. And for all your other tenants, the gentlemen [commissioners]

did order that they should have all assessments abated, and for the time to come have a third part of their rents abated, until the times were better. My lord, this cuts off a great part of your revenue, and yet I fear your tenants are so impoverished, that they will scarce be able to pay what is now set down.

Skalton and Ampleford, Gillinge and Colton, lay so near Helmesley Castle, that during the time it was besieged they were never without soldiers upon free billet, who, besides their other provisions which they eat up, they [the soldiers] killed all their sheep.

Heslerton lies near Scarborough, and suffers there; Walton was plundered at my Lord of Newcastle's first coming, being supposed to be one of his Excellency's towns; and since that the Scots have been thrice there, and pulled down the houses of office about your manor-house; and at their last being there, (which was about six weeks or two months since,) they took all their beans and oats and barley they had left for seed. They left but three sheep about all the town, and when they went away the soldiers at divers houses took away with them the sheets and bedding they had lain in, and kept some of the tenants till the rest ran to other towns to borrow ten pounds to give them for a farewell.

For Rudston there has been nothing gotten, I think, this four years. Mr. Ellis, your tenant, is dead, and it seems was in arms against the Parliament, and his estate is sequestered, as some other two of your tenants are; concerning whom you had need to move, my lord, so that the rents due to you by those tenants may be allowed in the composition for your wardship; these men's estates being taken for the public, otherwise your honour will suffer in two ways.

There is also allowed by order of the Court of Wards 240*l.*

per annum for the maintenance of your younger brothers and sisters, besides your lady mother's own allowance out of the estate. There were lands at Skawton of 70*l.* by the year value, left about two years ago by some tenants there; of these grounds, there was not only no profit made that I can hear of, but I have been forced to pay assessments for them out of the rents I received for other grounds which were let, else the sequestrators had driven. There is much ground at Walton turned into your lordship's hands too, for which I must pay assessments, though it be arable land, and lie untilled, besides meadow of 80*l.* value per annum and above, of which no profit was made. All these things laid together, which my cousin Dobson knows to be true, I hope my Lord Say will commiserate your estate and allow of what is abated the tenants at Acaster, and what the sequestrators have gotten at Rudston, where there is above 300*l.* due, and of any other tenants, in part of your composition, for it is impossible otherwise to raise it.

I humbly crave pardon of your lordship for being thus tedious. I thought it was my duty and necessary to give you this account, both for your own satisfaction how it is with your estate, and to enable you to inform my Lord Say of the truth of it, and the reason why moneys come in so slowly to him. There are also annuities to be paid out of your estate to the value of 200*l.* per annum, and some servants' wages, and besides, 200*l.* will not put your houses into good repair; the leads of Gilling Castle are quite decayed, so that it raineth into the house at above forty places, which rotteth the timber. My lord, all this is but to perform my duty, and show the good affection of a poor kinsman,

And your honour's most humble servant,

THO. IBSON.

Alne, May 11th, 1645.

While Lord Fairfax is regulating affairs as well as he can in the North, we will return to Sir Thomas Fairfax, whom we left modelling, marshalling, and officering his new army at Windsor.

Connected with these proceedings we find the annexed interesting document—a commission appointing the celebrated Algernon Sidney colonel of a regiment of horse. This instrument is dated the 2nd of April, the day before Sir Thomas Fairfax left London for the general rendezvous at Windsor. In the following June, we find Sidney leaving this regiment. No reason is assigned for it. Perhaps it was an impulse of that "over-ruling temper" which is ascribed to him by Whitelocke.

COMMISSION FROM SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, KNIGHT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, TO ALGERNON SIDNEY, AS A COLONEL OF A REGIMENT OF HORSE.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knight, Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised or intended to be maintained by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament, bearing date the fifteenth day of February, one thousand six hundred forty-four, for the defence of the Kingdom: To Algernon Sidney, Colonel.

By the authority of the aforesaid ordinance, and of one other ordinance, bearing date the first of April, one thousand six hundred forty and five, we hereby constitute and appoint you colonel of a regiment of horse, raised and to be raised for the service aforesaid, which said regiment you shall, by virtue of the commission given you, receive into your charge. These are, therefore, to require you to make your present repair to the said regiment, and taking the

same into your charge as colonel, diligently to exercise your officers and soldiers of the said regiment, commanding all officers and soldiers of the said regiment to obey you as their colonel for the said service, according to this commission given you, and you likewise to obey, observe, and follow such order and direction as you shall from time to time receive from myself and the superior officers of the army, according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal, this second day of April, 1645.

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Sir Thomas showed excellent discrimination in his choice of officers; nor was he less successful in securing their attachment. From amongst many proofs of their devotion to him, the following may be selected. The gentleman whose signature heads the list of names was, no doubt, the identical Major Smithson, whose menaces gave so much uneasiness to Lady Graham at Norton-Conyers.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERALISSIMO OF ALL ENGLAND.

The Humble Petition of the Commanders and Officers in Colonel Matthew Alured's Regiment,

HUMBLY SHOWETH:

WHEREAS we are given to understand that your honour is called into the southern parts for the public service of the kingdom, your petitioners humbly crave at your hands, that your honour would accept of the service of this regiment, who are ready to wait upon you, and hazard their lives with you wheresoever you shall be

called, or if we cannot be so much honoured herein, that then you would be pleased to see a course settled, before your departure hence, of a fitting constant pay for ourselves and soldiers, for our future subsistence and livelihood, otherwise your petitioners crave attestations under your hand for our arrears past, and are willing to quit our present commands, and in our persons to venture our lives with you in this your expedition (as formerly we have done), if you please to accept of the service of your petitioners underwritten.

Geo. Smithson.	Thomas Johnson.
Mich. Richardson.	Thomas Talbot.
Henry Nevill.	Francis Bland.
John Wildon.	Cornelies Vandehorst.
Robert Legard.	Robert Newham.

In order to a clear understanding of the opening operations of the army at Windsor, it will be useful to show how some of the principal points of action at both sides were covered. The King was at Oxford; Prince Rupert lay about Worcester and the frontier of Wales, with a tendency in all his incursions towards the North; General Goring kept flying posts in the neighbourhood of Hungerford and Marlborough; Sir Richard Grenville, with a considerable force, was besieging Taunton, now reduced to the last extremity; and another force was encamped before Plymouth. Such was the disposition of the chief divisions of the Royalists. On the other side Lord Fairfax held York and Hull; Sir William Brereton was laying close siege to Chester; Colonels Massey and Hutchinson were in garrison at Gloucester

and Nottingham; and Sir Robert Pye was in possession of Leicester. Upon a general survey of the military occupation of the kingdom, the balance of advantages was largely in favour of the King in the western and midland counties. His Majesty had also a great numerical preponderance. It was under these circumstances that the little army of Windsor, which in its final muster had seriously fallen short of the anticipations of Parliament, unfolded its companies late in April for the desultory campaigns of 1645.

The first outward movement was a sudden expedition under Cromwell, to intercept a convoy of horse which was expected on the road from Worcester to join the King at Oxford. Advancing rapidly into Oxfordshire, Cromwell routed a body of the King's horse at Islop Bridge, and compelled Colonel Windebank to surrender Blechington House. Under the articles of surrender, Windebank obtained safe conduct into Oxford. Safe conduct with a vengeance!—for he had no sooner reached the King's quarters, than he was tried by a council of war for abandoning his post, and shot. At Witney and Brampton-Bush Cromwell dispersed other bodies of the Royalists, and took a great number of prisoners. These signal successes occupied only two or three days.

While Cromwell was engaged in this service, Fairfax marched westward to relieve Taunton. It was the only inland garrison the Parliament possessed in that part of the country, and its preservation was an object of

primary importance. He had already proceeded as far as Andover, when an order came to countermand his further progress in that direction. Intelligence had arrived in London that the two Princes, Rupert and Maurice, were advancing towards Oxford, and it became necessary to consider whether it might not be advisable, instead of succouring Taunton, to fall back and concentrate upon the head-quarters of the King. Fairfax, however, was of opinion that, whatever it might be best to do, the worst was to stand idly on the highway, and so continued his march steadily towards the beleaguered town. Two days determined the question, and being overtaken by positive orders, he dispatched four regiments of foot to Taunton, and returned with the remainder of his troops to join Cromwell, and watch the King's movements. In the meanwhile his Majesty had left Oxford, effected a junction with the Princes, and taken the field with the immediate intention of relieving Chester in person, while he dispatched Goring into the west to harass Fairfax, whom he believed to be still there. Had Goring's superior force fallen in with Fairfax, the issue might have been disastrous for the Parliament; but Fairfax was enabled, by his intimate knowledge of the country, to evade that formidable body, and effect his march securely into Oxfordshire.

The King had long desired to relieve Chester, but had hitherto been unable to accomplish his purpose; nor could Sir William Brereton collect sufficient strength to carry the place, so that he did nothing more than

maintain a motionless siege. The difficulties to which he had been exposed so far back as the preceding February, will appear from the following appeal for help to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE preparation is great which the enemy makes for the relief of Chester and Beston Castle. Colonel Hastings unites with his own forces Lichfield, Dudley, Ludlow, Lincell Tounge, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, with many other places besides, to join with Prince Maurice in this design, with whom we must join in battle, or lose the fruit of all our labour, and long expectations; if in this design the enemy should give us a blow, the influence thereof would extend to all the neighbouring counties, and be very prejudicious to all these parts of the kingdom, which makes us seek abroad for help, being unable of ourselves for so great a task. We understand by your letters to Sir George Booth of your courteous tender of assistance to these parts if need were, which makes us bold to importune your honour for a thousand or two of horse and dragoons, with what possible speed may be, and if it please God to repel the enemy, and give Chester into our hands, which now is in great distress, your forces shall share alike with our own in recompense for their service, and we shall ever acknowledge ourselves,

Your honour's most humble servants,

WILLIAM BRERETON, PH. MAINWARING,
THOMAS STANLEY, GEORGE SIMTOM,
ROGER WILLIAM, THOMAS CROXTON.
H. BROOKE,

The enemy is within three days march, and is resolved to hazard all rather than lose Chester.

Namptwich, February 4th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Although the Royalists were thus hovering about Chester in February, it was not until May that they moved to its relief; and upon their approach in overwhelming numbers, Sir William Brereton, not having received the assistance he required, raised the siege and retired into Lancashire.

The loss of Chester was balanced by the recovery of Taunton. The besiegers broke up and withdrew on the appearance of Fairfax's four regiments of foot. The spectacle which presented itself on the entrance of the troops was harrowing, the town being in a state of ruin and destitution, from which it did not recover, as appears from the following document, for several months afterwards.

TO OUR VERY LOVING FRIENDS THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF NORWICH, THESE.

GENTLEMEN,

THE sad condition of many hundred inhabitants of the town of Taunton, whose dwellings are burnt and their estates utterly wasted by the enemy, have moved the Parliament to grant them a collection for their relief, by an ordinance to that effect; which, together with our order for the managing of it, we recommend to your care and furtherance, not doubting but that your charitable affections to so necessary and pious a work will encourage and enable you to see

it executed and distributed according to the instructions, with such faithfulness and dispatch as may prevent the expectation of those poor perishing Christians, and comply with the desires of

Your very loving friends,

Northumberland.	Anth. Nicoll.
Jo. Worthcote.	Geo. Searle.
Saml. Rolle.	Roger.
Jo. Honge.	Geo. Buller.
Wa. Erle.	Rideant.
John Bampfylde.	John Harris.
John Browne.	Jo. Waddon.*

Star Chamber, September 9th, 1645.

The retirement of Brereton from before Chester was not merely a politic movement to avoid an unequal conflict, but had reference also to a general scheme which Sir Thomas Fairfax now began to form for the purpose of drawing in his troops from isolated positions, with a view to concentrate them for a decisive action; a scheme soon afterwards brilliantly consummated by the victory of Naseby. The germs of this design are indicated in several letters. The following communications from Colonel Hutchinson bear upon this point. We see in these hasty notes, the stir and agitation of detachments moving to a centre at Nottingham under the special orders of the General. Delays still arise from various causes, and Colonel Hutchinson apprehends a mutiny in his own garrison from lack of pay. The issue lies dimly before us; but there is activity enough in the

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

commanders if they can only procure the means of appeasing the clamours of the soldiery.

The writer of these pregnant little letters is the same Colonel Hutchinson whose "Memoirs," written by his widow, constitute one of the most interesting and picturesque pieces of biography in our language. He rendered himself famous through the Civil War by the devotion and integrity with which he served the Parliament, especially in the important post of Governor of Nottingham Castle, from whence the letters are dated. While he held this office, he gave a signal proof of his integrity, by indignantly refusing a sum of 10,000*l.*, the hereditary governorship of the place, and a peerage, which were offered to him by the Earl of Newcastle, as bribes to induce him to betray his trust. By some strange and unaccountable good fortune, notwithstanding his active services against the Stuarts in the field, and in the tribunal which condemned the King, whose death-warrant he signed, he escaped execution and forfeiture at the Restoration. Surviving these dangers, however, he died a prisoner in Sandown Castle.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN FORCES

My Lord,

I have received this letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell this day. I do not know of what concernment it may be, and therefore I dispatch it with such haste to your

lordship that I have not leisure at this present to give you an account of some passages in this garrison as I ought to do. I hope I shall have leisure shortly, either to wait on your lordship myself, or at least fully to acquaint you how things are here with us. In the meantime, I beseech you be pleased to pardon the haste of

Your most faithful and humble servant,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

Nottingham, May 23rd, 1645.

Colonel Rossiter is not joined with us, and hath this day sent us word that he hath given your lordship a reason for it, which your lordship is well satisfied in.

Newark do not stir, but lie ready prepared with their dragoons.

COLONEL HUTCHINSON TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE intelligence at this instant that the enemy at Newark are drawing out this night with all their horse and dragoons, whether to the North or to the King is uncertain, and another messenger tells me they are now drawn out and are marching this way. Derby and Lincoln horse are not yet united with those of this garrison, which are in such ill case to march for want of pay, that they will rather mutiny than obey commands. Colonel Vermuden, I hear, is upon his march northward at Elvaston, in Derbyshire, within nine miles of this garrison. I have given him notice hereof, and have no more to your lordship but that I am,

My lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

I have intelligence even now, by a drummer of mine from Newark, that they are designed for Pontefract.

Nottingham, 24th May, 1645, at one of the clock, afternoon.

There were, as usual, great impediments in the way of recruiting and maintaining the army. The assessments ordered by Parliament were still tardily got in, although the urgency of affairs demanded greater activity than ever. Money was the chief want. It was impossible to procure recruits, or to keep them when procured, without a constant and liberal revenue. Yet, in spite of repeated appeals and menaces, large arrears remained behind; and day after day, as in the following instance, the most stringent measures were enforced upon the local committees.

TO OUR VERY LOVING FRIENDS THE COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT WITHIN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NORWICH THESE.

GENTLEMEN,

BY the many letters and addresses which the House of Commons and the committee of the army have of late made unto you, you have been fully informed what necessity there is that the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, (which, under God, is the principal means to preserve us in safety,) should be recruited and constantly and orderly paid; and to that end, amongst other supplies necessary for that army, and, above all, the House and the committee have been very instant with you, that the monthly assessments charged upon your county might in due time be

collected and paid in to the Treasurers at War. And now that, by God's blessing, (though your recruits of men and draught horses be not as yet complete, but we hope by your endeavours will speedily be done,) this army be in a fit condition to march, and is advanced; and that there are three whole months' assessments due, which the army should be paid; yet we find, notwithstanding all the assurances that we have received by your letters, or from the Parliament's agents employed to you, that the money paid in by your county to the Treasurers at War is inconsiderable, or nothing at all, which we apprehend to be a very great neglect, and of dangerous consequence, and, as the affairs of the army and Commonwealth now stand, cannot be longer endured.

This failure we conceive principally to be in the remiss demeanour of the collectors, either in not collecting, or having collected the money, in detaining the same in their own hands; and therefore we, the Committee of Lords and Commons, appointed by the ordinance of the 28th of March last, taking the same into consideration, have thought fit, for the speedy levying of the three months' assessments now due, and for the preventing of all retardments in this service for the future, to give power to the agents employed by Parliament to call the collectors to account, and where they find any person to have neglected his duty, to bring him in safe custody before you, that you may inflict such punishment as the ordinances direct, — a copy of which order in that behalf we have inclosed sent you.

And that the Commonwealth may receive the fruits and effects of this order, we are to desire you, according as the ordinance doth enjoin, that you the committee would twice every week meet, and that you would countenance and encourage the agent, and hear such complaints as he

shall present unto you, and proceed against the delinquents with effect and speed; and from time to time to cause assessments for more months to be made, as you shall find necessary for this service, which so much concerns the public good, that we are most earnestly to recommend the same to you, that all diligence and care be used herein; whereof not doubting, we rest,

Your very loving friends and servants,

P. Wharton,	J. Evelyn.
Pembroke & Salisbury.	Robert Scawen.
W. Say & Sele.	John Venn.
Wm. Masham.	Jno. Petts.
Valentine Warton.	Tho. Hodges.*

At the Committee for the Army, the 16*th of May*, 1645.

The same necessity is again pressed upon the attention of the Norwich committee in a letter from both Houses of Parliament, followed by another and more urgent requisition from Derby House. In the first of these letters the threatened siege of Oxford is announced; in the second, Sir Thomas Fairfax has already arrived, and cut off all communication with the town.

FOR THE COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF NORWICH.

Gentlemen,

The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being very sensible of the miseries that this kingdom doth suffer by the long continuance of this unnatural war, have

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

resolved, as the most effectual means, with the blessing of God, to put an end thereunto, that Oxford shall be presently besieged; having found by experience for these three years last past, that the advantage of that place, situate in the heart of the kingdom, hath enabled the enemy to have ill influences upon this City and the counties adjoining, and to infest all other parts. This design, though most necessary, and of great advantage, cannot be prosecuted without supplies of men and money.

We are therefore, by the command of both Houses, earnestly to desire you to hasten the collection and sending up of the money due upon the ordinance for maintaining the forces under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax; and the recruits (the want whereof is a great disservice to the public). These things have lately been represented to you by the Committee of Lords and Commons for the army, it being of great importance, and of present use for the siege designed. We are by both Houses directed again to press the same, not doubting but the benefits which, by God's blessing, this whole kingdom will receive hereby, will quicken all men's endeavours to further this great work; and so we rest,

Your very affectionate friends,

GREY OF WARKE,
Speaker of the House of Peers.

WM. LENTHALL,
*Speaker of the House of Commons.**

Westminster, 19th May, 1645.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

FOR THE COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF NORWICH.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the writing of these letters of the Houses, herewith sent, Sir Thomas Fairfax is come up to Oxford, and doth straiten that place so that they cannot take in any further provision. We therefore most earnestly recommend it unto you, with all possible expedition to hasten up the monies and recruits according to the letter from the Houses, which may be in this case an extraordinary service.

Signed in the name and by the warrant of the Committee of both Kingdoms.

Your very loving friends,

P. WHARTON.

LONDON.*

Darby House, May 21st, 1645.

Fairfax pitched his head-quarters at Marston, his forces being cast upon spots which completely commanded the town. But the whole proceeding was undertaken against his judgment. He felt that he was wasting his strength behind a breast-work, while the King was abroad in the field, and that, instead of reconnoitring the walls of Oxford, he ought to have been collecting his army for a general action. It was the obvious business of the New-Model Army (which had supplanted the procrastinating system) to follow the King wherever he went, and force the war to a conclusion. But nothing had yet been done in that

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

way, and his Majesty had already fully availed himself of the opportunities to which he was invited by the dispersion of the Parliament troops, and amongst other triumphs, had taken Leicester by storm. These feelings and opinions, and the welcome intelligence that the Parliament had at length consented to release him from an "unprofitable" siege, are emphatically expressed in a short note to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD-GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM very sorry we should spend our time unprofitably before a town, whilst the King hath time to strengthen himself, and by terror to force obedience of all places where he comes; the Parliament is sensible of this now, therefore hath sent me directions to raise the siege and march to Buckingham, where, I believe, I shall have orders to advance northwards, in such a course as all our divided parties may join. It is the earnest desire of this army to follow the King, but the endeavours of others to prevent it hath so much prevailed; but I trust God will preserve it to do the public service: to-morrow I begin my march (God willing). If your lordship strengthen York and Hull, I trust they shall not have time to besiege any places; so beseeching God to keep your lordship in health, and those parts in safety, desiring your blessing, I rest,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Marston, 4th June, 1645.

It was now evident that a crisis was at hand. Fairfax was marching to the defence of the Associated Counties, and letters were hourly dispatched over the country to hasten the concentration of the troops. Colonel Vermuden was hanging on the King's rear; but the direction his Majesty intended to take was yet uncertain. We have a glance at the flying rumours in a letter from Mr. Gervase Lomax to Lord Fairfax. Mr. Lomax was a Nottingham man, belonging to the middle classes, of good understanding, a plain, blunt, honest Parliamentarian.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Colonel Vermuden wrote himself yesterday to be at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, attending the King's motion, which, if southwards, then he is to unite with Sir Thomas Fairfax, who quartered on Wednesday night at Brackley. If the King come northward, Colonel Vermuden is to unite with Colonel Rositer, and both with the forces under the command of Sir John Gell. But it is yet uncertain whether the King be for north or south, he being yesterday not past Harbrowe, and at least at a stand, if not retreating back this way, which is presumed to be upon the noise of Sir Thomas Fairfax's advance. Your lordship may please to impart this intelligence in your next to the Earl of Leven. No more at this time, but that I am

Your humble servant in the Lord Christ,

Gervase Lomax.

Welbeck, June 6th, at Six at Night. [1645.]

Early on the morning of the same day on which Lomax dispatched this letter, Colonel Vermuden had written to Sir Thomas Fairfax, apprising him that he was on his way to join him at Brackley, and that intelligence had reached him of the King's march towards Nottingham. "The Lord send us a speedy conjunction," wrote Vermuden, "and a good engagement, with blessed success." This brief sentence expressed the universal desire. The whole army, wearied of fruitless skirmishing and wasteful sieges, panted for a "speedy conjunction," and "good engagement."

And all this time, by orders from Parliament, prayers are putting up in the churches for a blessing on its efforts! Vermuden, one of the truest and bravest of Fairfax's officers, was unable to participate in the glory to which he had looked forward so eagerly, being compelled, within a week from the date of his letter, to resign his commission, and go abroad upon urgent private business: probably to Holland, the native country of Vermuden the engineer, who drained the fens, and who is supposed to have been his father.

It was at this moment, when he was collecting to a centre the flower and strength of his army, that Fairfax solicited Parliament to dispense with Cromwell's attendance at Westminster. He had better use for him in the field; and, immediately upon obtaining the requisite permission, he appointed him Lieutenant-General of the cavalry. Fairfax was quartered at Wotton, within two miles of Northampton, and the King

lay at Daventry. Cromwell was ordered to bring up his horse without delay, and breathless dispatches were sent off to Coventry, Warwick, Northampton, and every place within reach, desiring the garrisons to "come up" with all the strength they could muster. Major-General Skipton, second in command, was directed to draw a plan of battle; and the impetuous masses, from distant points, pouring in with portentous fury, were rapidly drafted off into brigades of horse and foot, and assigned their several positions.

While Fairfax was making these systematic arrangements, his Majesty, always a little too confident of the divinity which hedged him, was amusing himself hunting! And it was not until Fairfax had hemmed him round, and scared the van of his army, at Harborough, that his Majesty, called up out of his sleep, summoned a council of war, to consider what was best to be done. It was eleven o'clock at night, and seeing that Ireton was hanging upon their flank, within two miles of Naseby, and that Fairfax had shut up the road at Gilling, it was concluded that retreat was impossible, and that nothing remained but to give battle,—of the result of which, in their pride of superior horse and experienced commanders, they appear to have entertained no doubt. Flushed with recent fluctuating successes, his Majesty believed that it was as easy to hunt down Fairfax's army as to chase deer and rabbits; and accordingly, taking up his ground on some undulating heights opposite to the little hamlet of Naseby, he drew

out his force in full pomp, to receive the enemy. His Majesty himself commanded in person in the centre, with the two Princes and Sir Marmaduke Langdale on the right and left, and strong reserves of horse and life-guards behind. Fairfax cast his lines on the low moor-land hills close to the hamlet, sustained at the extremities by Ireton and Cromwell, with his artillery train, enclosed in a ring of firelocks in the rear. The picture of the array of both armies, which has been handed over to us, discloses a ghastly solemnity of preparation, ominous, on both sides, of a frightful carnage. A wide sweep of irregular plain lies between the contending phalanxes, and here, upon this open, naked space, Charles stakes his last chance for the throne.

The battle-cry on the side of the King is "Queen Mary!" and on that of the Parliament "God our strength!" The right wing at each side opens the onslaught, Prince Rupert charging up the heights of Naseby, and Cromwell plunging down into the broad plain with such fierce resolution, that he falls upon Langdale's horse at the sword's point, throws them into a panic, and pursues them over hedge-rows, ditches, and roads, a quarter of a mile beyond the field. Prince Rupert at the same moment is scattering Ireton's left wing, whose movements are embarrassed by dykes and pits of water, while Ireton has his horse shot under him, is wounded in the thigh with a pike and in the face with a halbert, and in the rush of the *melée* taken prisoner; soon afterwards, however, finding means, through

the general confusion, to regain his liberty. Prince Rupert having broken through Ireton's cavalry, and forced them to retreat towards Naseby, on his return reaches the artillery train (where Rushworth is standing taking notes), and, being mistaken by his dress for General Fairfax, an officer advances, hat in hand, to ask how the day goes. The mistake is soon discovered. Rupert offers them quarter, to which they reply by a volley of bullets. There is no time to argue the matter with these obstinate firelocks, and, seeing that the main body, under the command of the King, is in imminent peril, Rupert flies back with his victorious horse to succour his Majesty. It is too late. The fate of the day is already decided. Fairfax's troops, beaten back at first, are rallied by his officers—old General Skipton, who is shot in the side, still staggering on his saddle, and refusing to stir from the ground while there is a man left—and others, clutching their colours, and bringing up the reserves to supply the void of the broken centre. The whole of that gallant body of cavaliers, which, only three hours ago, presented so bold a front, is now shattered and dispersed. Fairfax, recovering his position, has formed his line again, with his wings of cavalry and his foot marshalled between them, to make a last descent upon the King, who, to do him justice, is endeavouring, with desperate courage, to bring up his troops for one charge more. But no human influence can induce them to turn back, and they break away from the field in disorder, Langdale's horse taking the road to Newark,

and the King flying towards Leicester, pursued by Cromwell's cavalry for a distance of twelve or fourteen miles.

In this memorable battle, fought on the 14th of June, Fairfax took nearly 5000 prisoners, including 4000 private soldiers, the whole train of artillery, a quantity of rich pillage, which the cavaliers had possessed themselves of at Leicester, several coaches, and his Majesty's private cabinet, containing letters and papers which furnished crushing evidence of kingly treachery and duplicity.

The Royal fugitive made good his retreat to Leicester, where he had a garrison which was doomed to be driven out after him within the space of three days. His evil fortune had filled him with terrors, and afraid to stay in Leicester, even for rest and refreshment, he fled the same evening to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he snatched a hasty supper, and was on the road again at midnight, on his way to Wales, to beat up for recruits. The reverse was prophetic, from the chivalry of Naseby to the donjon of Ragland Castle.

The prisoners taken at Naseby were that night, for want of accommodation, cooped up in Harborough church; and the next day Fairfax advanced upon Leicester, which surrendered on the 17th June. He now resolved to move to the relief of Taunton, which was besieged by Goring; but Goring, having notice of his approach, broke up the siege and turned back to oppose him. Both armies met upon the river at Langport.

Goring had the advantage of the passes, but was dislodged, and beaten with great loss, after a fierce engagement. It will be seen from the following letter, that Goring acted against orders in risking this battle, his Majesty having commanded him not to engage until his forces should be strengthened by new levies out of Wales, and by a further reinforcement from the western garrisons.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

To pardon my seldom writing. I have taken this occasion to let your lordship know God's great goodness to us in defeating Gen. Goring's army; 2000 prisoners are taken, two pieces of ordnance, many arms and colours, both of horse and foot, but not many slain.* His horse that got off, is gone towards Cornwall, and some foot to Bristow. It pleased God to give them this blow in good season. The King had given Goring strict commands not to engage before himself, with the Welsh forces, were joined with him, and Greenwill with those out of the West, which, altogether, would have made a very great army, besides many thousands of club-men in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, which was ready to declare themselves for the King, as soon as he had crossed the Severn; so as we cannot esteem this mercy less, all things considered, than that of Naseby fight. I have writ

* The journals of the day estimate the killed at 200; Rushworth at 300.

to both Houses, but not so fully as the bearer of these letters, Col. Ransbrough, or Major Harrison, can inform them. I wish my wife, and the house she is in, could be any ways serviceable to your lordship. So, humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Chedsey, 11 *July, within two miles of Bridgewater*, 1645.

At the close of the war (anticipating the result, that we may dismiss this rash gentleman from our pages), we find Goring falling under the displeasure of the Prince, who, remembering this fatal business at Langport, was not slow, probably, to find out reasons for dismissing him from his favour. The Sir Constantine Huygens, to whom Goring sends his whining complaints, was a Dutchman, Lord of Zuylichan, and had served three successive Princes of Orange, in the quality of secretary. He came to England in 1622, as secretary to the Dutch embassy, and was father of Huygens, the famous astronomer and mathematician.

FOR MY MUCH HONOURED FRIEND, SIR CONSTANTINE HUGGENS, AT THE ARMY.

SIR,

THIS war is ended with more loss to me than any other body, for I hear the Prince is displeased with me for the coming away of those officers that did it without my knowledge, and I have now my lameness so much renewed,

that I cannot come to clear myself; as soon as the bath has restored me to my strength, I shall employ it in his Highness' service, if he please to let me return into the same place of his favour that I thought myself happy in before, being not at all guilty of deserving any declination in his Highness's good opinion no more than I was worthy of coming into it; and I set too great a value upon his favour and myself to quit any pretensions to it, when I keep the same affections to his service that I always had: and sir, you will do me a particular favour to let me know what my posture is there, and to be assured that howsoever his Highness disposes of me, I am,

Sir, your most affectionate,
and most humble servant,
GEORGE GORING.*

Berwick, June 22.

The "Club-men" (or Club-risers, as they were sometimes called), alluded to in Fairfax's last letter, was the title of a new party recently conjured into existence, and which, about this time, had set up an audacious and formidable front. The ostensible object was the protection of life and property, irrespective of King or Parliament —a springe which entrapped hundreds of honest, foolish people, who were terribly harassed by the trampling of dragoons over their fields, and who sincerely believed that it was true patriotism to harass the dragoons in return. In reality this confederation was a Royalist conspiracy, managed by bold and subtle leaders, who

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

laid their plans so successfully that they were able to collect at different points masses of two or three thousand armed men to waylay the supplies of the Parliamentarians, and prevent the levy of contributions. Fairfax encountered a cluster of these club-men on his march into the west ; and Cromwell fell in with large bodies of them on two occasions, and was at last compelled to take summary means for bringing them to their senses. But the club-men, and all other combinations, under whatever pretext they came into the world, went out of it with impressive suddenness. Some of their leaders were taken, and sent to London, and the roving cohorts, frightened at their own valorous folly, broke up and vanished.

From Langport, Fairfax had removed, as we have seen, to Chedsey, close to Bridgewater, which was strongly fortified by the Royalists, and which occupied a position that rendered it nearly impregnable. On the night of 11th July, Fairfax and Cromwell went out to examine the fortifications ; and on the 16th (the date of the following letter), the proposition to storm the place, or to abandon it, was debated at a council of war. As soon as the council broke up, Sir Thomas Fairfax communicated the result of their deliberations to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SINCE the last fight we have only settled our quarters about Bridgewater, as necessary before we enter into action again, to give some rest to the soldiers, who have extreme hard duties in marches and service. This town is of greater consequence, as we conceive, than any in the western parts; for if we have it, we shall garrison in a line which will reach from Severn's mouth to the South Sea, and so divide Devonshire and Cornwall, where their chief force is driven. We intend presently, God willing, either to storm or block it up, that the rest of the army may be at liberty to go after Goring, or where there is most need. I hope we shall carry this place if we storm it. All things are preparing for it. Our greatest want in the army is match, which I desire there may be a care taken a good quantity may be sent to Lyme. I shall trouble your lordship with no more, but humbly desire your blessing, and remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Chedsey, 16 *July*, 1645.

On the 22nd the town was stormed, and on the following day it surrendered.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YESTERDAY I gave an account to both Houses of our taking Bridgewater, part of it by storm; and finding their obstinacy I was forced to fire two or three houses, which presently made them to render the town and themselves to mercy. The governor told me, some of his own men set fire on several parts of the town, for which he had committed some to prison, else we had done little hurt by fire. Now we shall, God willing, in a day or two, undertake some other business, either towards Bath and Bristow, or towards Goring in Cornwall; the latter seems fittest to be undertaken. Forces from France and Ireland may readily join with him there. I hope we shall leave force enough for the west, and have a considerable army for any other service. We have had great testimony of God's goodness to us, and I trust He will still assist us in this work, that we may finish it or our lives to His glory and the good of this kingdom, for which I desire your lordship's blessing. So remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Near Bridgewater, July 24th, 1645.

The King is expected this night in Bristow if the news of taking Bridgewater stay him not. His greatest hopes now seems to be in the clubmen, and God's providence is much seen in the timely taking of this town. If the King had had time to have got his forces and these numerous clubmen together, we must have left it.

We are interrupted in the midst of these anxious

scenes by a letter from Mr. Charles Fairfax to his brother, concerning certain investigations into divers complicated questions of taxation in Yorkshire, upon which that worthy lawyer and antiquary had been for some time engaged. Deeply as he was absorbed in the "study" at Denton, he found leisure for such scanty intelligence as he could get, from week to week, of the progress of the army. The matter of this letter is of no present import. The old divisions and interests to which it refers are obliterated; but it shows that there was hard work to be done in dusky offices and civic chambers, as well as in camps and castles, to sustain the heart of the great cause. It is apparently a dry discussion about rights of levy; but these assessments were the life-blood of the army.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS LODGINGS IN QUEEN STREET, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YOU may please to take information that the rates of the three Ridings are now vehemently controverted, and both North and East oppose the West; the City (who are no less violent against us), these will not admit part of our twelve, but a distinct twentieth part of the whole. They insist upon the seidance of their proportions in the two late ordinances, one for the Irish, the other the Scottish assessments; the act for poll-money; the irregular charge of ship-money; the postscript of an old letter to the mayor, &c., from my Lord of Huntingdon, 1595 (point blank against

them, being in pursuance of our claims), and the City's answer, that Pierce Stanley, as muster-master of the county, ought not to view their arms, being a distinct county. Purveyance they admit; but it is not against them, being an act of prerogative. Each objection has his answer. But most of that I heard at this board I had formerly learned from your lordship by frequent discourses, besides the view of seidall notes, both my father's and yours, concerning arms and purveyance. As a twentieth part, it is but as Strafford and Tickhill, from whose high constables they have received their charge; that (because it is a distinct county) the statutes enable them to claim their privileges for arms and bridges; yet for arms (besides the Lord President Huntingdon's letter, who says we claim them) there is shown a note of Sir Henry Savile's, taken 1625, wherein the City forces are reckoned with the West.

A poor thing to what I have seen in your study, but especially in my father's desks, in several bundles of far ancienter date. In Henry the Sixth's time they were made a county, and (though now no part of us) are concomitant with us to their former proportions, which such charters can neither diminish nor alter more than the late separation of Clifton, Tulford, Rouchliff, &c., taken both from the North and East Ridings, where (by joint assent of the justices and gentry) it was ordered they should pay assessments (as before) with those Ridings. A like may be intended upon their first charter.

For the charge of shipping, each particular sheriff had his writ; and if our proportion have exceeded, it (being irregular) can be no authentic precedent. That of Camden they would urge against us. He (speaking of York) having formerly mentioned the three Ridings, says, "Que nec illius nec

cujusque alterius partis censetur, sed suis guadet immunitatibus." By one casting voice (there being twelve of both Ridings and thirteen of ours, with their Mr. Chalanour siding in that point with us) the month of August is voted to be assessed as it usually has been, and a new day assigned to determine the controversy, or at least for the present, until the Parliament decide it, there being the interests of many thousand pounds in lands above the value of 200,000*l.* per annum concerned.

I purpose to go or send to my cousin Malory, and all others who may contribute any assistance to the work, to vindicate those rights which lie now a-gasping. They being confident to carry it, it will be discussed in Parliament; and your lordship's memory (though you have often complained of it) is a faithful repertory, and ever was, in all things that concerned the good of the country. In the mean time your letter hither may be very useful. Some things I bundled in your chest, of impertinences concerning musters, which I hope I may get to, for it was not in your study. They may be of as good consequence as Sir Henry Savile's note.

My lord, I am much comforted in the weekly relations, wherein I read God's mercies in legible characters both of you and your son. The giving all unto God (of which he has an honourable testimony) is the most thriving way. I have many engagements to remember your lordship; and I know you cannot forget

Your most affectionate servant,

C. F.

1*st August*, 1645.

Mr. Stockdale has now shown me your lordship's letter concerning this business, and I hope will join with the carriage of the business.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, following up his successes at Langport and Bridgewater, directed his course westward against Bristol, where Prince Rupert was in command of a powerful garrison. On his way he stormed Bath, which, after a brisk surprise at the gates, surrendered on his own terms. In his next letter we follow him to Sherborne.

FROM SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO HIS FATHER, LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SINCE the taking of Bath, (I have left there two regiments of horse and two of foot, which, with the assistance of the county with the well-affected there about, I hope will straighten Bristow very much), I am come to Sherborne. The necessity of staying in these parts till we receive our recruits and ammunition made me willing to attempt something on it, which I hope in a very short time will be to very good purpose, if it please God we take this place. It is more considerable than to force Goring into Cornwall, for the clubmen of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire, are like to be of dangerous consequence, if not prevented. We have taken thirteen or fourteen of their chief leaders. Lieutenant-General Cromwell is gone out with some horse to hinder the clubmen's meeting, which I hear they have appointed, to come and demand their leaders. We must not neglect this business, for their violence is probable to lead them to some foolish attempt, which I hope may make them repent their errors, if they will not be advised; which way, I desired him just to make use of. I am sorry money is so slowly sent to the army; indeed our soldiers have been

put to hard service and strict obedience; but if they want pay, both these will be neglected, and nothing carries on our business with more advantage than keeping our soldiers from doing violences, which I do desire we may still be able to do. I shall trouble your lordship with no more at this time, but humbly desiring your blessing, remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Sherborne, August 4th, 1645.

Since the writing of this letter, I received yours of the 24th July. I perceive the Parliament hath been pleased to name me Governor of Pontefract. I am so little serviceable to those parts, as I cannot desire more commands there. Either of those your lordship names are fit to command the castle; but if your lordship think it convenient to have that government, I am content; and desire that either Colonel Overton or Major Crooke may command under me there. I now received this inclosed from Lieutenant-General Cromwell: I desire your lordship would acquaint the House with it, and that they would let me know what they would have me do with the ring-leaders of them.

The "inclosed" from Cromwell contained an account of the dispersion of the Clubmen, who were totally routed by Cromwell, and glad to escape, on condition of never showing their heads again. "Many of them," said Cromwell, in his letter to Fairfax, "are poor silly creatures, whom, if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and will be hanged before they come out again."

The ammunition and money, so much needed by

Fairfax, arrived on the 11th August. The spirits of the army rose at the good news. They had been upwards of a week before Sherborne waiting for cannon, but not failing to make a show of strength at intervals by sending trumpets to the gates, whose summonses were answered by flat negatives, and occasional shots out of loopholes. It was by some of these shots the officers mentioned in the following letter were wounded. Captain Horsey, and another officer, Captain Fleming, died of their hurts, and were buried with military honours in the church—a solemn pause in the fury of the siege!

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WE find nothing more difficult than sieges, where things are not provided for that work. Necessity and reason now puts us upon that way; for no army, God be thanked, now for the present is like to keep the field against us. We shall neglect half our work if we leave Sherborne untaken; but in a few days we hope, by God's assistance, to force it. We have already lost some of our stoutest and best officers before it, as Major Done, Captain Horsey, and others hurt. We are making mines, which I hope in a few days will be finished.

I received this day your lordship's letters by Captain Hoyle. I shall do what I can for him; but when places fall in this army they are presently challenged either by antiquity or merit, as it is hard to place any stranger in it. I shall desire

Colonel Overton or Major Crooke to command Pontefract under me, if you think fit; or if you desire, it may be absolutely under the command of one of them. I desire to know your lordship's pleasure, and I shall be very well content. So, humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

On the 12th the miners were at work under a hurricane of burning faggots. On the 13th the cannon was planted, and the miners, cutting through the naked rock, were within two yards of the walls. On the 14th the guns began to play, beating down a tower, and making a breach wide enough for ten men to enter abreast. A poor drummer, who was sent in this strait to summon the garrison to surrender, was told that he deserved to be hanged, and that the Governor was a man who would rather lose his life than his honour; and on the 15th the said brave, boisterous Governor surrendered. On the 16th the soldiers made high market of their booty with the country people.

Before the end of a week (having reduced Nunney Castle on his way) Fairfax sat down before Bristol. His name had become a word of fear amongst the Royalists. Fortifications seemed to melt before him wherever he appeared, and belligerent Bristol was struck with terror at his approach. So soon as he was known to be in the neighbourhood, several lords and people of rank begged for passes to come out of the

city, declaring that they were ready to leave the country, and get out of the way altogether. Fairfax refused their request, "it being a received opinion," says quaint old Rushworth, "that persons of quality and great estate, in a besieged town, rather incline to a timely yielding than hazardous defending thereof, when no relief is at hand." And so, with the gates locked upon these helpless persons of quality and great estate, Fairfax prepares to batter down the walls. The next letter, without a date, appears to have been written on the 22nd or 23rd August.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

UPON serious debate on the consequence of affairs, we marched to Bristol with the army, else the good success God hath given us in Somersetshire might have been to little purpose; for Prince Rupert, with 3000 horse and foot which he had, might have raised force in all the county behind us, which would have been more considerable than Goring's army is, which breaks daily with distractions, and so less dangerous. We have shut Prince Rupert, with all his horse, up in Bristol; the plague is much there. I hope God will direct all things for the best, that we may give some good account of that which is so much expected. So, desiring your blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

This inclosed letter from my Lord Falkenbridge was intercepted coming from France, with other letters, which is sent to the committee of both kingdoms. It appears by them little assistance can be expected from thence.

Having secured all the surrounding posts, and borne much distress for several days from sudden sallies of the besieged, it was determined, after much deliberation, to storm the city. This resolution was carried into effect on the 10th September. Nearly all the forts and bulwarks gave way, after a resistance hardly less heroic than the devotion of the storming parties; and Rupert, seeing that all was lost, fired the town in three places, and sent a trumpet amidst the flames to propose a treaty of surrender, which was accepted. The treaty was concluded on the 11th; and on the next day, while Fairfax was writing to his father, Prince Rupert was riding out under a convoy of horse to Oxford.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

BY the good providence of God we are now possessed of Bristol, which was rendered, September 11th, upon these inclosed conditions, after a fierce and resolute storm: the particulars will be expressed in the Speaker's letters. I have left only a regiment of foot in the fort and castle, for the sickness is much in the town; the army removes this day to Cavesham and Penford; we must needs lay them in quarters free from sickness, till the monies come up from Riding, and

this place be settled. Somersetshire is raising 2000 men to recruit the army, part of which we are to receive to-morrow. I hope to have 1500 more out of Glostershire. The enemy seems much dejected since the taking of this town, and I think the Prince would be glad of a pass to go into France. I believe I shall hear from him shortly to that purpose, if he would not have it so public as to desire it of the Parliament, but rather from me. I humbly desire some advice in it, but I think it would be happy for the kingdom if he would go out of it. Rushworth will acquaint your lordship more particularly of things. So, desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Bristol, 12*th September*, 1645.

Devizes Castle, Berkeley Castle, Winchester, and Basing House, were now rapidly reduced in succession; the King's troops were beaten on Rowton Heath, and soon after at Sherborne; and Fairfax, making forced marches westward, took up his head-quarters at Chard, on the 8th of October. Up to this time no money had been received by the army since the remittance of the 11th of September, and wherever they came they were obliged to take up free quarters.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET.

May it please your Lordship,

We are now at Chard, upon the confines of Devonshire, and shall be forced to stay there till our monies and

recruits come to us; Goring is about 6000 horse and foot, being the more considerable, having the advantage of rivers and other strong passes to maintain against us; yet we perceive much fearfulness in them to engage with us, and many soldiers, and some officers daily run from them to us. They will not have any assistance from Cornwall, and I hope Devonshire will be our friend when we come in to them, that they dare declare it. I am exceedingly troubled with rheumatism and a benumbing coldness in my head, legs, and arms, especially on that side I had my hurts. It hath pleased the Lord to help me through much extremities, and I trust He will lay no more on me than He will enable me to bear; the mercies I have received ought to stop all complaints in His service.

My wife is gone to Sir John Paulett's, and intends to stay there till my lady be able to go up to London with her. As there is occasion I shall give your lordship further account, and now desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Chard, 8th October, 1645.

The action at Sherborne was the most important of all the flying encounters which occurred at this time. It happened thus:—the King, being at Welbeck on the 12th of October, and desirous of assisting Montrose, then actively engaged on the Scottish border, and complaining grievously of want of cavalry, appointed 1200 horse for that service, which he confided to the command of Lord Digby, assisted by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. George Digby laboured under the misfortune of being

one of the handsomest men of his day. His vanity was in proportion to the grace and beauty of his person. It was the dye which lay at the root of his character, and infused its colour into all the transactions of his life. One who knew him intimately tells us that he thought the most difficult things easy, and that he never troubled himself to calculate consequences, as if he had the power by mere volition to overrule them. His whole career, up to the moment when he got this unlucky command of horse, exhibited a succession of hot-brained impulses, in which his self-confidence predominated over all other men's judgments, and even over the most palpable suggestions of prudence. Like all men who, for the glory of standing alone, prefer their own opinions, even in the wrong, to the wisdom of combined counsel, he cultivated singularity to the total wreck of his fortunes. The results of this eccentricity of temper, dangerous to his associates and fatal to himself, were conspicuous in the caprice, inconstancy, and failure of everything he undertook. However far he might advance with a party, he was sure to strike off somewhere on some crotchet or humour of his own. He began with the Parliament, and ended with the King, and boasted that he was hated equally by Papists and Puritans, which he took to be a mark of distinction, and a proof of independence. However enthusiastically he might respond to the affections of his friends, he was sure to differ from them at some time, and lose them at last. His truest and best friend, through all reverses,

was the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whom, in the long run, he impeached of high treason. Possessed of great natural talents, his mind was so elevated by conceit, and so incapable of discipline or application, that he never could employ them in any direction with success. He dabbled in literature out of a spirit of elegant ostentation, and left nothing behind him worth remembering. The only things in this way by which he is known are a translation of three books of the Cassandra, and a couple of comedies, (played at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1665), which he constructed out of the Spanish, and afterwards condensed into one, and published under the name of "Elvira." The complexional intrigue of this piece, which shows clearly from whence it came, survives in "The Wonder" of Mrs. Centlivre.

Impetuous Digby, at the head of his 1200 horse, marched off to Doncaster, where he valiantly seized a few stray Parliament soldiers, who had sought shelter in the place, and were incapable of offering any resistance; and pursuing his victory to Sherborne, surprised Colonel Wren, and took about a thousand prisoners. Exulting in this exploit, he gathered up the arms of the vanquished in a heap in the street; but while he was waiting for carriages to convey them away, Colonel Copley appeared before the town. Digby drew out his forces and gave battle. The contest was short and decisive. Digby was soundly beaten and put to flight, and lost not only all the prisoners and arms he had taken, but three hundred men of his own, and his

private coach, containing bundles of letters full of royal secrets. The papers seized upon this occasion, and at Naseby, were published by the orders of Parliament, and disclosed to the country a scheme which the King was carrying on to marry his son to the Prince of Orange's daughter, with a view to secure the aid of Holland, and sundry negotiations in which he was engaged for bringing over foreign armies and subsidies. But it was evident, from one of these letters, that his Majesty, in the midst of all his plans and alliances, was reduced to despair. "I confess," he observes in a communication to Prince Rupert, "that, speaking as a mere soldier, or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin." The battle of Naseby had broken down his last hope.

The following list of prisoners taken at Sherborne, is from a memorandum in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

PRISONERS TAKEN AT THE LATE BATTLE AT SHERBORNE, ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15TH, ABOUT FOUR OF THE CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON, 1645.

COLONEL SIR FRANCIS ANDERSON, Coloner Bulmer, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Carnaby, Lieutenant-Colonel Wentworth, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Major Crathorne, Captain Leuson, Master of the Ordnance; Captain Cholmeley, Captain Marshall, Captain Pudsey, wounded and taken; four more captains taken; Captain L. Slayton, Lieutenant John

Turner; divers other officers and reformadoes; Mr. Duke Punstable, a great papist; Mr. Claverin, Richard Lowther, gentleman; Colonel Sir Francis Carnaby, slain; Colonel Sir Richard Hutton, slain; Mr. Slingsby; several wounded; betwixt 300 or 400 taken prisoners, and about 600 horse, forty slain, many wounded; the Countess of Nidsdale taken; Colonel Clausin, Colonel Carnaby, their colours taken and divers others; the Lord Digby's coach taken, and the King's surgeon taken in it with rich pillage. We lost not ten men, but many wounded. The enemy were about 1600 horse, and intended for Montrose. Ours were about the number of 1250. About 600 of the enemy are gotten towards Skipton.

Handsome Digby, who may be supposed to have had his beauty a little spoiled in this affair, fled precipitately northwards, turning this way and that, to avoid the Parliamentarians, and after crossing fords, hiding in woods, and fighting for his life, got away at last more dead than alive to the Isle of Man, from whence he finally escaped into Ireland. The remainder of his wandering life was crowded with romantic adventures, such as were common to soldiers of fortune in the middle ages. From Ireland he fled to Jersey, and thence into France; served in the French army in Italy, attended Charles II. at Bruges, and was found at the Restoration in the Spanish ranks under the command of Don John of Austria. His true friend, Clarendon, had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him against accepting mercenary service under a foreign power, telling him frankly at the same time that there

were certain errors of his life and nature, which he ought to avail himself of exile and solitude to correct. "You can no more," said Lord Clarendon in a letter remarkable for good sense and integrity of purpose, "be a servant or pensioner to another crown, than you can marry another wife. Borrow or beg (it is very honest) so much as will keep you alive and cleanly for one year; and withdraw into a quiet corner, where you are not known, and where not above two or three friends may hear of you. If you can live but one year without being spoken of at all, without being in a capacity of having your own or other men's errors imputed to you, you will find a strange resurrection of a good fame. In that retirement you will revolve the rare accidents and misfortunes of your life; in the consideration whereof, I fear, you have been too negligent; and, it may be, you may believe you have encountered new and unusual dangers, because you have not duly weighed past and unusual deliverances. You will find as much of the immediate hand of God in both, as can be observed in the course of a man's life, much inferior to you in age, and, it may be, in action. And after you have given your mind this diet, exercise and repose, you will return with greater vigour upon the stage; and any shift you shall then be necessitated to, will be more justifiable to the world and comfortable to yourself."

The first use he made of his vigour when he did return to the stage, gartered by the new King, was to

exhibit articles of high treason against the good friend who had given him this excellent advice. But in this, as in everything else, he failed egregiously. His articles were thrown out by the Peers; and after a few years of impatient and inefficacious display in Parliament, he went out of town, and died at Chelsea, where his fine person was deposited.

Supplies arrive on the 11th, and the jubilant army, with Goring's troops hanging in clouds upon their track, move on to Axminster, and thence to Tiverton, which is at once blocked up, stormed, and taken with miraculous haste, as usual. Exeter is the next point of attack, and Fairfax accordingly presses on, and brings his artillery under the shadow of the walls at St. Mary Autree.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE some hopes of procuring a place in these parts for Mr. Chaloner to be burgess of. I will do what I may in it. I shall forbear here to give your lordship an account of our present condition in the west, but desire you to receive it from Rushworth. So soon as two or three places on the east side of Exeter are fortified, and are now almost finished, we shall make our head-quarters about Tiverton; the enemy doth lose men daily, and is very desirous to make conditions for themselves. I hear the Prince (Rupert) is at Pendennis; there is a party that would persuade him over sea. I think

it would be better if it pleased God he could be prevented; there will be a head where he is, for malignants to draw to, and a ground for foreign states to take part with, for their ends, under the pretence of defending innocency. I shall trouble your lordship no longer, but humbly desiring your blessing, take leave to rest,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Autre, 14th November, 1645.

My wife presents her duty to your lordship, and stays yet a week longer, till my Lady Pawlet be ready to travel.

The business at Exeter, however, is not so speedily finished as he hopes, and instead of making head-quarters about Tiverton, he is doomed to be buried in the morasses at Autree for some weeks to come.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL use the best means I can to get Sir William Selby a burgess's place here; but I see every man's affections are so engaged to their particular relations, as I something doubt my own interest here, unless I go a more open and public way than is fit in this business; yet I shall omit nothing I can do in it. We lie yet still as we did; but I hope presently we shall do something by way of advancing our quarters further west; but this will be questionable if we send more forces eastward, which at the next council of war will be determined. There is nothing more

that is material to acquaint your lordship from these parts. I have writ to Major-General Points, humbly desiring your lordship to give conveyance to it upon the first opportunity. So, humbly desiring your lordship's pardon and blessing, I remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Autre, Nov. 29th, 1645.

The wet season has set in, and the troops, plunged into unwholesome quarters, crowded together, and ill-furnished with provisions and accommodations, are dying off every day. Worse still, Plymouth is threatened, and Fairfax, eager to come to its relief, is unable to liberate himself or his diminishing army. During this dismal suspension of activity, he negociates with the Prince of Wales, who answers him, through Lord Capel, in a letter which reflects with marvellous fidelity the paternal style of mixed cajolery and obstinacy. This is the Lord Capel who, in the early days of Parliamentary grievances, was one of the first to cry out against kingly oppression, and who in about three years hence will be found "lying shorter by the head" at Whitehall.

FROM THE LORD ARTHUR CAPEL TO SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

SIR,

IN answer to yours of the 8th of this month, his Highness hath commanded me to let you know that he did not believe that his overture of engaging himself in the

mediation of a blessed peace for this miserable kingdom, (which he did, and does still most earnestly desire to labour in) would have brought him an invitation to quit his piety and loyalty to his Royal father by dividing his interest from that of his Majesty's, whereby he should render himself unworthy and uncapable of the fruits of that peace he labours for. If his former propositions may be consented unto, he hopes God will so bless his sincere intentions and desires, as to make him a blessed instrument, to preserve this kingdom from desolation, but if that be rejected he shall give the world no cause to believe that he will forfeit that honour and integrity which can only preserve him in a capacity of doing that service; and shall, with patience, attend God's good pleasure, until his endeavours may be applied with preservation of his innocency. This is all I have in command from his Highness,

Your servant,

ARTHUR CAPEL.

Exeter, December 1st, 1645.

The condition of the men at Autree gets worse and worse, and, even if they are ordered to Plymouth, they are no longer fit to undertake the service. The sickness has penetrated to the General's quarters. Rushworth communicates this disheartening intelligence to Lord Fairfax who is now up in London, at his son's house in Queen-street, trying to exorcise money out of Parliament. He also encloses to his lordship the scented note from Lord Capel.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX,
AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON,
THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YOUR lordship may perceive, by the inclosed, how little the Prince esteems of that dutiful and respective letter of the General's to his Highness. He may now thank himself if his condition proves worse, having refused so fair an offer. The army is sickly: many die daily: the disease is infectious; the quarters bare; and truly, I fear, a great mortality will ensue for want of accommodation, to the foot especially. Besides Colonel Pickering, there are divers other officers dead, and many sick. Three sick in the General's family of this new fever, whereof Mr. Blackbeard is one. We had been in no condition to move to Plymouth, if the Lords had obtained their desires. We have little news. The enemy is not only much divided but dispersed; yet as high in their thoughts as they at Oxford are. The General hath sent his own regiment of horse towards Oxford, to join with Colonel Whaley and Colonel Ireton. Colonel Rainsborough's regiment of foot, and Colonel Fleetwood's of horse, are marching towards Corfe Castle. Having no more to trouble your lordship withal, I rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Dec. 3rd, 1645.

The head quarters is still at Autry.

The General hath received advertisement Youghall is relieved; and that Sir Charles Scott and Sir Robert Stewart

have slain a bishop and 1000 rebels. The General formerly sent all the provisions belonging to this army, and lent 1000*l.* of the soldiers' money to the relief of Youghall, so sad were their condition without present relief. When any monies come in upon the new ordinance, it will be requisite to move for the repayment of their 1000*l.*

At last Fairfax, having concluded his works, and hearing that the Prince, whose army is wasting away as fast as his own, has sent out to gather troops from Dartmouth and Barnstaple and other places, resolves to break away from the infectious marsh of Autree, and orders several regiments across the river into better air at Crediton, where they meditate an attempt on a royalist garrison at Poldram House. He is assisted in his councils by Cromwell, fresh from the sieges of Basing and Langford Houses, and the intrepid Sir Hardress Waller, who shows evidence of perilous service in a wounded arm. They are here collecting their brigades, whose "hum of preparation" may be heard at the enemy's out-posts; and the watch-fires at night, casting their broad glare into the waters of the Exe, give intimation to the curious eyes of sentinels on the ramparts that the Parliamentarians are once more about to take the field. Fairfax, redeemed from miserable Autree, is again restored to his proper element. His activity is incessant. He has transferred his head-quarters to Tiverton, scared the enemy out of Kirton, and still holds Exeter in a state of siege.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SINCE yesterday that I writ to Sir Thomas Widdrington, nothing of note hath happened, only intelligence of the enemy's distraction; besides a message from my Lord Newport of the intention to send the Prince beyond sea to Holland, and of the Holland ships there attending. Upon our advance to Kirton, the enemy is gone from Newton Bushell in great disorder. I shall suddenly give your lordship a further account; Mr. Blackbeard lieth speechless, and doubt he will not recover: more fallen sick.

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. R.

Tiverton, December 10th, 1645.

J. RUSHWORTH, ESQ. TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS day the General is gone to Kirton, to see the making that place a strong quarter, and to give orders about a design, within these two nights to be put in execution, in the taking in of a place of strength the enemy is fortifying upon the river. I hope there shall, within few days, be no manner of access into the town with permission. My Lord Goring continues still at Dartmouth. As soon as this place is taken (Poldram Castle), we shall annoy the enemy in the South-Hams, and give them little rest; I hope, enforce them

into Cornwall. We have little news else, in these parts, worth your lordship's knowledge. I remain,

Your lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

J. Rushworth.

Tiverton, Dec. 12, 1645.

The troops are in motion about Crediton, and have attempted Poldram House, and been fairly beaten back, when Fairfax writes again to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

May it please your Lordship,

I should give you oftener account from these parts but that I know you have it every week by other relations. The other day we sent a party over the river Ex, to possess Poldram House; but being prepossessed by the enemy, and the party not sufficient to storm it, our men took a church, half a mile nearer Exeter, from whence the enemy sallied out that night with 500 musketeers, and assaulted our men in the church. They disputed the business for three hours very hotly; the enemy came up close to the windows with halberts, and threw in fifteen grenades, but, by the goodness of God, our men forced them to retreat, leaving two men slain behind them, many others wounded. We, finding the place more dangerous than useful, quit it again. The extreme coldness of the weather, and want of clothes, makes us act slower. This day a small party of ours from Crediton fell into an out-quarter of the enemy, and took a captain of horse and about

ten troopers prisoners. They consume away very fast, and I hear they have not 100 men in some regiments. There is an infectious fever in our quarters, but the countrymen rather than soldiers die of it. This season is so ill for travelling, as my wife cannot yet conveniently take her journey up to London; and the rather because my quarters all this time are so settled as there is no trouble to her or me in her stay. So, desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Tiverton, Dec. 19, 1645.

The banks of the river bristle over with little garrisons, and we hear of surprises, and assaults, and deserters coming in with intelligence, every hour in the day. Exeter is clearly reduced to extremity for want of provisions, and her last hope lies in the long-expected reinforcements. The progress of affairs is graphically sketched in a couple of letters from the indefatigable Mr. Rushworth.

J. RUSHWORTH, ESQ., TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

May it please your Lordship,

Since the time the enemy was so well beaten off at the church, they durst not reattempt it, a thing we desired they would engage in, with two pieces of ordnance they had drawn out, for then two regiments more being come up to Whetstone, midway between Crediton and Exeter, to those three already with Sir Hard. Waller, we had got between

them and home, which they perceiving, made a stand two days together, the weather not admitting us to be long on duty in expectation thereof; no accommodations thereabouts for our men. The generals caused the foot in the church to be drawn off over the water, Thursday at noon; they in the castle never offered to interrupt their passage. If we had had any garrison on the other side near the church, or could with an ordinary party sent from Crediton to relieve them, we had not quit the church, being useful as to the river opposite to our garrison at Nutwell, as the two blockhouses at Gravesend; but having twelve boats, four manned with ordnance, the river is sufficiently interrupted, few passing by, or none in boats. Colonel Okey, from Fulford House, fell on their quarter, and took a captain of horse and twelve prisoners. A captain of horse (one Captain Bell) is come in, and thirty horse with him. This being all I have to present unto your lordship, I take my leave, and rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. Rushworth.

Tiverton, Dec. 20th, 1645.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON, THESE.

May it please your Lordship,

The enemy yesterday morning, about two of the clock, assaulted our men in Mr. Davy's house at Crediton, after they had been about six hours in the house; but other men had so barricaded the ways, and cast up breastworks, that they beat off the enemy, killed a lieutenant-colonel and many others, and took many prisoners, which they are now

bringing to the head-quarter; this service was performed by one of Colonel Okey's dragoon captains, which he sent from Fulford House. Sir Hardress Waller no sooner heard of the engagement, but he sent 1000 foot from Crediton to their relief, but, blessed be God! they had relieved themselves; this morning two regiments of horse ordnance, after those foot, to reside on the other side, to countenance the fortifying of those two garrisons of Fulford and Teene, and settling some others in a line, though all at a distance; for if we stop the Southams for sending provisions, Exeter is quite debarred of all succour. The general had it late last night in debate of sending another regiment of foot to Corfe Castle, in lieu of that which is called away; but in regard the enemy is preparing to relieve Exeter, with droves of cattle and sheep, &c., there is like to be need of the greatest part of our army for their resistance. Inhabitants come forth daily to us, their store of provisions being spent, and wanting fire; and many are not able to pay the billet of seven, ten, or twelve soldiers on a poor family—all sixpence a man. Very suddenly we shall be round them; but we can do it all once. This being all I have to present unto your lordship, I rest,

Your lordship's most faithful servant,

J. Rushworth.

Tiverton, Saturday, Dec. 23*d*, 1645.

Last night there came four troopers, well mounted, from the enemy; they came from Totness, and affirm the Plymouth horse beat up the enemy's quarters, some twelve miles from Plymouth, forced the enemy to fly to their works, and took several prisoners.

I have not writ to Mr. Speaker or Mr. Prideaux: your lordship will be pleased to communicate unto them.

The reinforcements for beleaguered Exeter are at last on the march. A formidable body of eight or nine thousand horse and foot are gathering about Tavistock and Oakhampton; but Fairfax has early intelligence, and has already determined upon his future movements.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THERE will be no want in the General effectually to endeavour that for Sir William Selby. Where engagements are already made by others for choice of others named, it will be difficult to put them by. But if your lordship please to move the House, or get some to do it, that the writs for Tiverton may be sent down, no place so likely to have a burgesship obtained for Sir William Selby as here, the General being present. If your lordship please to move Mr. Prideaux herein, he can hasten the writs, or take off what is the *remora*,* if your lordship please to advise with Sir Thomas Widdrington herein. The enemy find themselves injured that Exeter is so blocked up, that without an army they cannot considerably relieve it; so now they are drawing into a body, horse and foot, all Oakhampton, and out of Cornwall, so that we are like suddenly to have some engagement on that side of Exeter. We keep three houses and Crediton fortified.

They are well at Plymouth. The enemy endeavoured to tempt the governor, but fruitlessly. The man was hanged

* Difficulty, or impediment.

on Saturday. This is all I have worth your lordship's knowledge.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Tiverton, Saturday, Dec. 27th, 1645.

This brings us to the close of 1645. The weather is intensely cold, and the ground is covered with snow. The scene round Exeter presents a dreary spectacle in these shivering December nights. Fairfax is moving away his heavy guns over the deep roads by slow and difficult marches, and his troops, falling in from post to post, are forming into companies, and departing in different and rather perplexing directions. The camp is broken up, and Exeter relieved for the present.

The year has been a most prosperous one for the Parliament. The King, notwithstanding the multitudinous gatherings of Gorings and Grenvilles about Oakhampton, the recruiting in Wales, and the shouts of the Montroses over the Border, is in an extremity out of which the kingliest optimism can discern no present means of deliverance. After the battle of Naseby, escaping as he could into Wales, he collected a new army, and reappeared in England, not clear as to his destination, but hoping to get up into the North, (his only chance), and effect a junction with Montrose. In this design he was frustrated, and driven back southwards. Stumbling upon Huntingdon in his flight, he miraculously beat a foot-company on a drawbridge, and

took possession of the town. Encouraged by this piece of good fortune, his Majesty turned towards Chester, met the Parliamentarians at Rowton Heath, and had his Huntingdon laurels blown into the air. This annihilation of his Welsh legions was, comparatively, a trivial misfortune to that which had befallen him only eleven days before in Scotland, where he had garnered up his last hopes. Montrose's army had been literally exterminated at Philiphaugh, more papers were taken revealing secret plots, and Montrose himself was forced to take refuge in the Highlands. All was over in the North. Again his Majesty, but with greater difficulty than before, fled into Wales, and, raising fresh levies, returned and took up his quarters at Newark, from whence he precipitately withdrew to Oxford, hearing that the Parliamentarians were shattering Shelford Manor about the ears of Lord Chesterfield.

While the war is yet moving darkly in the West, his Majesty is wintering in Oxford, and opening negociations for a treaty of peace with Parliament. Had he acted in this crisis with faith and sincerity all might yet have been well. But even in his agony of fear the Stuart equivocates.

1646.

FAIRFAX'S EXPEDITION INTO CORNWALL.

LORD HOPTON'S ARMY DISBANDED.

SURRENDER OF EXETER.

THE KING MAKES HIS ESCAPE IN DISGUISE.

FAIRFAX TAKES POSSESSION OF OXFORD.

TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES.

THE SCOTS GIVE UP THE PERSON OF THE KING TO PARLIAMENT.

1646.

The inclemency of the season prevented Fairfax from advancing with his usual speed. His design was to march upon Dartmouth, the present head-quarters of the Prince; and, to divert attention from his real purpose, he sent Sir Hardress Waller with a detachment to Bow, a feint to bewilder the Royalists at Oakhampton. In the beginning of January we find him still at Tiverton, occupied, amongst other matters, with the approaching election. Parliament were issuing writs to supply the room of members who had been formally disabled by their adherence to the King's cause. There was a heavy batch of vacancies occasioned in this way, and Fairfax was using his influence to secure the return of Sir William Selby for Tiverton.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

May it please your Lordship,

I writ by the last post about the getting writs issued for Tiverton, (the only place the General can think of), to befriend Sir W. Selby. I have writ by this post to Sir

T. Widdrington to that purpose. The Prince is come to Dartmouth: hath sent to Exeter for his arms. The Cornish at Totness, they come and go, so as we are uncertain of their strength. The weather will not admit of a march, especially with horse: when they rendezvous, we shall do the like, or before, as intelligence is. At Dunster, Colonel Blake's mines take no effect. The work is like to be long there.

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. Rushworth.

Tiverton, January 3rd, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646].

On the 8th of January, Cromwell advanced by night to Crediton, and surprised Lord Wentworth's brigade at Bovey Tracy; and on the 10th, Sir Thomas Fairfax reached Ashburton, being now on the high road to Dartmouth.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET.

May it please your Lordship,

I writ the last week to you of my intention to place Colonel Thornton in Pontefract, holding myself noways engaged to any other to favour them in that particular, though other way I would do Major Rookby what good office I can. Our business here (God be thanked) goes on very prosperously. We advanced with the army into the south side of Devonshire, where the enemy lay so secure, as Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with some horse and two regiments of foot marched to a town where the enemy had a

guard of three regiments of horse; he was in upon them before he was discovered; it being night, the men got away, unless a very few; but above 400 horse and seven colours were taken. The next day we went to their head-quarter at Ashburton, which was gone a little before our coming thither. We sent a party after their rear, which brought us in some prisoners, and hastened their retreat, with much confusion, towards Cornwall. There is so great a fear, through the hand of God, upon them, as three of our men did chase a hundred of them. We shall pursue (God willing) our advantage so soon as this sharp season will permit. Without prejudicing the army too much, I staid one day behind the army, to see my wife: a little better before I left her: (whom I thank God) I left in a good way of recovery. I shall trouble your lordship with no more; now humbly take leave, to rest

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Ashburton, January 10th, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646].

The Ashburton retreat had a more important result than is attached to it in this letter. The Royalists, apprehending that the whole of Fairfax's army was upon them, abandoned the siege of Plymouth, and leaving their posts undemolished, and their ordnance and ammunition behind, fled in confusion over the Tamar into Cornwall.

The next letter, three days' later, is dated from Dartmouth.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS day intelligence is come, that the enemy hath raised the siege at Plymouth — in haste — left behind him seven piece of ordnance and four barrels of powder. A great fear is upon the enemy. We are now before Dartmouth, and purpose to attempt something this night by storm.

I am your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Totness, January 13th, at noon, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

The weather changed, and the storming was put off; and in the interval Fairfax dispatched orders for Captain Batten to bring up his squadron to support the operations from the sea. On the 18th the town was stormed, and taken with such extraordinary rapidity that the assailants got possession of the enemy's cannon after the first discharge.

FOR THE RIGHT NOBLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

THE business of Dartmouth hath required much consideration: 150 piece of ordnance in it. Captain Batten is come in with a squadron of ships, who is to act his part by water, while we do it by land. The sudden thaw hath a little deferred the business; before this come to your hands, it will over. This day the General goes to set every man

his post. I hope in the Lord, we shall carry it. I was never more assured of a place. Intelligence is come the enemy hath quit Tavistock, and is gone into Cornwall. We shall (as soon as this business of Dartmouth is over) do more service westward. We have good news of your Cornish part of the army that lies to the north; have taken eighty horse, two colonels, and thirty prisoners, and brought them in yesterday to Crediton: have taken, besides those, about 200 horse in several parties. Lieutenant-General Porter is come in; very speedily your lordship shall hear further from

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. Rushworth.

Totness, January 16, 1645, [*N.S.* 1646.]

My Lord Newport is in Dartmouth, and would fain come out. Yesterday we killed the Governor Lieutenant-Colonel on a wager between two red coats that took aim.

Since the writing hereof, the intelligence is, the enemy left 200 arms in Sir Francis Drake's house, and the Cornish will not permit Goring's horse into their county; that they intend to break through, and are gone towards Torrington. The General hath sent horse to watch their motions, and sent to Colonel Whaley to draw to Reading to be in readiness.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My it please your Lordship,

As soon as we were masters of the town, I sent a letter to your lordship in the express to your house. The two forts are since surrendered, and Mr. Peters, this bearer, can relate all the particulars. It is one of the greatest

businesses the General hath yet done—to God be the glory. I take my leave, and remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. Rushworth.

Dartmouth, January 20th, 1645, [*N. S.* 646.]

This "Mr. Peters," the bearer, was the famous Hugh Peters, who attended the army on some of these occasions in a half-military, half-clerical capacity, fighting, preaching, and carrying dispatches by turns. In some of the Biographies he is said to have borne a Colonel's commission, but that is not true: he officiated as chaplain to the Train-bands, and sometimes as secretary to Cromwell, who made effective use of his wild eloquence and fanatical devotion in stimulating the religious fervour of the troops. That Peters often threw himself into the thick of the danger may be seen from the minute eye-witness narratives he gave to the Commons of the sacking of Winchester and Basing House—very curious specimens of the earnest character of the man and the times. He was not the only priest who mixed personally in these scenes. The Archbishop of York took an active part before Conway, and was wounded in the neck. Peters was more lucky, and escaped without a scratch. It might have been better otherwise. He survived in a whole skin till the Restoration, when he was executed with Jones, Harrison, and the rest. Of his life and manners we have a deplorable account from the Royalists, who tell us that he was originally expelled from college, that he then went upon the stage, where he

acquired that peculiar extravagance of action and gesticulation alluded to by Burnet who called him an "enthusiastic buffoon," that he fled to Holland on a charge of adultery, and was suspected of being of one of the men in masks who executed the King. Peters denied the charges, especially the last, which was certainly false. Whatever eccentricities or vices he may have been guilty of, he was a conspicuous type of Puritan frenzy, and appears to have been thoroughly sincere in all the excesses to which it committed him. In the following letters to Fairfax, he speaks out of the fullness of convictions not to be lightly set aside by modern scepticism.

TO MY TRULY HONOURABLE AND FAITHFUL GENERAL, SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

SIR,

ONE of the greatest comforts I have had in this world, next to the grace of God in Christ, to my poor soul, hath been to be a member of your army, and a spectator of His presence with you and it. What others do, I know not; but it is my duty to return to my work, and to meet you again; which I am bold to do with this simple present. I know your mind, that must not, will not, be flattered; nor am I skilful in that mystery. I have seen you upon earth, and doubt not to meet you triumphing in heaven. I only must crave leave to speak your own words, That your great experiences of God's power and mercy, have made strong obligation upon you to love Him and the saints, which I have seen you do impartially; you have made it your

interest, and now find you are not deceived. The God of all your unparalleled mercy dwell in that thriving soul of yours, strengthen you throughout to the completing of this great work, yea,

Serus in cœlum redeas, diuque
Lætus intersis populo Britanno.

For myself (if it be worth your acceptance), I am resolved to live and die in your and the kingdom's service; and as you have obliged three kingdoms to you and many thousands of saints, so none of them more to honour you than,

Sir,

Your ever faithful servant in Christ,

Hugh Peters.

The writer of the next letter is the General Leslie who shattered Montrose at Philiphaugh, and who afterwards stood out so lustily for the Kirk in Scotland.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERAL, THESE.

Right Honourable,

My best affection of love with my humblest respects remembered. I thought it my incumbent duty to let you have a copy of the letter sent by me unto the Governor of Carlisle, together with the answer thereof, both of which you will receive herein inclosed, whereby I conceive that the town is able to hold out two months yet, if not more.

I am bold in behalf of this gentleman, the bearer hereof, to be your humble suitor that your honour would be pleased to be assistant unto him in taking up and getting in of some

old debts and monies resting unto him within the county of Yorkshire; as likewise that my lord would be pleased (as I desired in my last to his lordship) to grant me a pass for Colonel Attkins, which I did promise unto him at the surrender of Naward Castle. Thus hoping for a good answer and favourable construction, I remain

Your honour's most humble servant,

DAVID LESLIE.

Daston Hall, the 17th January, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

Having secured Dartmouth, Sir Thomas Fairfax fell back upon Exeter. Poldram Castle surrenders at last; but floods and rains delay the larger operations. Lord Hopton in the meanwhile has been appointed to the command in Cornwall, superseding Goring, who has been sent off on secret negociations to France.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE General's head-quarter is at Chudley; most of his forces close before Exeter. Yesterday Poldram Castle, that commands the river, was surrendered to Colonel Hammond, when he was ready to storm; another out-garrison they quit. There are good hopes in a short time to get Exeter; the enemy in Cornwall stirs not, though Hopton is General, and Greenvile committed to Pendennis. I have sent to Mr. Speaker letters intercepted, but most in figures; yet the scope of the business may be easily discerned. This being all I have to present unto your lordship, I remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Chudleigh, January 26th, 12 *at night.*

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I MET your letter at Tiverton, being come thither for two or three days to see my wife, whom I found in a very good way of recovery, (God be thanked). So soon as she is fit for a journey, intends for London. We both acknowledge, with humble thanks, your lordship's great favour and care of her. I have lately summoned Exeter, but had a modest denial: the particulars I have sent up to the Parliament. We intend to block it up closer, and march with the rest of the army further west. I must acknowledge the Parliament's liberality; and humbly desire your lordship to let me know if anything more be expected from me in expressing it. I have writ to Mr. Whit about horses, desiring two of them may be well matched. We have intercepted letters coming lately out of France, from the Queen and other, desiring the Prince may be sent thither; but the King inclines rather to send him into Denmark. They have little hope of forces from France. I hope in a few days we shall be in motion again with the army. I have sent for Major-General Skippon's regiment, from Bristol, and the regiment from Corfe Castle. Without the addition of those forces we shall not be able to carry on the business of the West with that expedition we desire. So humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain

Your most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Tiverton, Jan. 31*st*, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE constant rain hath much hindered our proceedings about Exeter. Floods are great. This day a council of war will confirm or alter former resolutions. Speedily your lordship will hear more. I believe we shall leave enough to do the work about Exeter, and advance to break the enemy totally in the field. The horse that intended East went to Dunster, whilst Colonel Cook was drawn off to oppose the Oxford horse in Dorsetshire. Colonel Blake's men took fifty of them, yet some relief, we conceive, they got in; but that, as yet, is not certain. My lady is well. Very speedily your lordship shall hear more from your

Most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Chudleigh, Feb. 7th, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

As Rushworth anticipated, it was determined to leave a sufficient force to carry on the siege at Exeter, and to advance with the main body of the army against Lord Hopton, who was collecting his forces near Torrington. Sir Hardress Waller was charged with the command at Exeter, and Fairfax advanced towards Torrington in person.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I RECEIVED yesterday, a letter from Mr. Pym, a member of the House, but now in Somersetshire, that he hath

procured my brother Selby a burgesship at Ilchester, in the foresaid county, being effectually solicited by Mr. Pridieux to do it; it is come very clear to him; the other burgess is Mr. Alex. Pym. We have blocked Exeter in straiter than it was, and with the rest of the army are upon our march towards the enemy, which lies about Torrington, and the frontiers of Cornwall; if we go into that county (as probably we shall), I fear nothing but the soldiers' want of money to pay their quarters. Good carriage towards them being the best way to gain them, desire the Parliament would be pleased to consider how to supply the army timely with money, as of great importance to the carrying on well the affairs there. Something your lordship will hear shortly of this motion. I hope good our trust is in God, who is a sure rock of defence in stormy times. I shall trouble your lordship with nothing more at this time, but humbly desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Crediton, 13th February, 1645, [*S. N.* 1646.]

I hope my wife will be fit, so soon as the season, for her journey up to London.

On the 16th, an engagement took place at Torrington, when Lord Hopton was defeated and driven back into Cornwall, Fairfax following with the whole of his army.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL not need to give your lordship the particulars of the good success God hath given us at Torrington, against the Lord Hopton, for the letters to the Parliament will fully relate it; it was as hot service as any hath been since our coming forth; the enemy showed more resolution than ever; I saw them after we were come into the town,—their magazine, which lay in the church, which was almost eighty barrels of powder, took fire, and blew up all the church; timber, stones, and sheets of lead, showering down as hail on all parts of the town. I believe there were 200 of the enemy prisoners, and some of our own men blown up, and buried in the ruins of the church. I must acknowledge God's great mercy to me, and some others that stood where great webs of lead fell thickest, yet, praised be God, no man hurt; only a horse of a gentleman of the Life Guard, that stood by me, killed. I could not but mention this as one of the strange accidents that I have seen, and as great a providence in preservation of some. Those horse are all gone into Cornwall, whither we shall presently follow them. I shall give your lordship a further account of things here as there is occasion, so humbly desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Torrington, 18*th February*, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

Since the writing of this, I understand the man that gave fire to the powder, did confess that Lord Hopton did promise him thirty pounds to do it. I sent to examine him further, but he was senseless with the bruises he got.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YESTERDAY was the great debate at a full council of war concerning the armies marching into Cornwall; and it was concluded in the affirmative, *nemine contradicente.* I hope it will be as happy an expedition as ever we made yet. We leave both Exeter and Barnstable blocked up. All the enemy's force are on the other side the river in Cornwall: most of it twenty miles in the county. Our wounded men recover apace. The General's greatest trouble is, how to order the army so, as not to be harsh to the Cornish, who were so harsh to our men formerly. Hopton hath not yet rallied 300 foot. I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Torrington, Feb. 23*rd*, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

The Prince of Wales, who was sheltering in Cornwall, now gave up the struggle in despair, and fled to Scilly. Fresh proofs of the faithlessness of the King fell into Fairfax's hands at this time in letters which were taken from an Irish vessel, and which showed that while his Majesty was urging upon Parliament a treaty, he was privately intriguing through numerous agents for the assistance of foreign troops and loans of money. These frequent discoveries of royal insincerity determined Fairfax to lose no time in parleying with Hopton. The passes of the country were in his hands, from the north to the south sea; his troops were already in the suburbs

of Truro, where the enemy lay; but he wisely preferred the dissolution of the Royalist army to a needless expenditure of blood. Hopton, a gallant and honourable man, stood out as long as he could, submitting only at the last extremity to a treaty, under the provisions of which his 4500 mounted soldiers were disbanded before his eyes, and 2000 stand of arms placed at the disposal of the Parliamentary General.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THIS is the third to your lordship since the treaty with Hopton; it is now concluded; hostages given. To-morrow, at eight o'clock, they begin to be disbanded. There is no fear but conditions will be punctually observed on our part, and no article violated. 120 musketeers, with their colours, came in to-day. The Governor of St. Mawe's Castle, which commands the haven of Falmouth, more than Pendennis doth, hath sent to surrender. The General hath sent, this night, to possess it. God is good to us. I doubt not of Pendennis, after a few days. I am

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Truro, March 13*th*, 11 *at night*, [*N. S.* 1646.]

The commanders on both sides (now that the treaty is ended) supped this night with the General.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THROUGH God's goodness, we have almost put a period to the Western war, there remaining now no body of an army in the field against us. Being advanced as far as Truro, we had the enemy in an isthmus of land, where they could not escape us. Yet, upon serious consideration, finding dissolving them by treaty would be as effectual as any other way and less hazardous, we concluded these articles I have sent the Parliament, which I hope will be very considerable to our affairs, seeing they are so totally reduced and denuded. I hope the rest of the towns will come in in good season. The breaking of these forces thus, we esteem a great mercy, considering they had 4500 horse, and that we must have been put to many straits and some hazard, if we had fought with them. I trust God hath directed this for the best. I have not time to enlarge myself further; so humbly desiring your lordship's pardon and blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient and affectionate son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Truro, March 15th, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

The Royalists being thus broken up in Cornwall, Fairfax returned to Exeter, which surrendered on the 9th of April. Barnstaple, to which allusion is made in these letters, submitted three days afterwards.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YESTERDAY the General drew his army round Exeter, faced it within musket shot, sent a summons; an answer of inclination to a treaty returned. This day the offer to treat was manifested by sending the names of committee. Being ten in number, the General hath sent to reduce them to six. On Friday the treaty begins. By what I observe, a few days will bring us into Exeter, and Barnstaple is an incident inseparable to Exeter. It yields with Exeter; that we had acknowledged of in Cornwall, and therefore came to Exeter first. This is all I have at present to acquaint your lordship with. I humbly take my leave, and remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Before Exeter, April 1st, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS day a treaty is begun for surrendering of Exeter, which I hope will be concluded, and we in possession of before you receive this; which, if it please God to effect, we shall in a few days march the whole army eastward. I have already sent Commissary-General Ireton, with three regiments of horse and one of dragoons, towards Oxford, to join with the rest there. Pendennis and the Mount will be so easy work, as the forces we have raised in these parts will,

I trust, be sufficient to carry it on. I hear not yet of any election to be made for burgess; but I shall leave it as a request with the western gentlemen, that they will procure two that shall be named places there. I desire your lordship's pardon that I writ so short and so seldom; indeed my indisposition of health is often as much the cause of it as any business; but I desire to be thankful for the mercies I have received, and hope the Lord will continue them to me. I shall now trouble you no more, but shall shortly give your lordship a fuller account, so humbly desire your blessing.

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Cullum John, April 4th, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

May it please your Lordship,

This day the treaty is concluded, and we are presently to have the castle and forts delivered up to us, and the town on Monday next; for performance of it we have Colonel Coventry and Colonel Philpots, and two more as hostages. I am going to Barnstable, which, I have good hopes, will come in on a summons. Then the western war, I trust in the Lord, is finished. Pendennis and the Mount, though they yet hold out a while, can do no hurt. The other day, a mayor, with a captain and thirty soldiers, came out of Pendennis, and first sent to Colonel Hammond, who commands our forces there, that they would deliver up the works they were in unto him, if he would send some men to possess it; but not willing to trust them, they only came away them-

selves. Colonel Hammond sent a party of horse to Market Jew, a town near the Mount, who happily surprised sixty soldiers, being almost all they had in the castle, for they were not above one hundred.

I have writ to the Parliament, to desire the government of Exeter may be conferred on Colonel Hammond, who is a very faithful and valliant gentleman; and that which will most advantage the Parliament affairs is, that he will be strict in discipline, and ready to do right to the country. A more particular account will be sent very speedily to the House of the surrender of Exeter; and, I hope, Barnstable too. I hope, before the last of this month, we shall be near Oxford. I shall now take leave to desire your prayers, and rest

Your most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Tiverton, April 9th, 1646.

FOR THE HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

Right Honourable,

Monday, (according to articles), Sir Jo. Berkley marched out; and the General entered Exeter, Tuesday. The town and castle of Barnstable were punctually surrendered, according to articles. To-morrow, the General marches.

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. Rushworth.

Exeter, April 16th, 1646.

Donnington Castle, hallowed in earlier times as the residence of Spenser, and much talked about in these latter days as the stumbling-point which brought

reluctant Manchester into immediate collision with Cromwell, had surrendered on the 1st, so that there being no new castles or towns to sack in this part of the country, the victorious general directed his steps to Oxford; from whence we have some letters, in one of which Sir Thomas Fairfax gives the substance of the King's last communication to Parliament; and in another, notwithstanding his experience of royal duplicity, shows a disposition to think these people sincere at last!

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THERE is little news. As yet, we are making bridges and entrenching. The General is very well, after a fit of the stone. There is a quarter reserved for your lordship and Sir Thomas Widdrington, at Garsington. I humbly take my leave, and remain

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Leaguer before Oxford, May 5th, 1646.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, OR SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON.

In answer to the general summons there was returned from Sir Tho. Glenham:—

SIR,

I have received your letter summoning me to render this city, which was given me in trust for his Majesty's

use. But in respect there are many persons of great eminence, I must desire you to receive for answer a request that you will be pleased to send a safe conduct for Sir Jo. Monson and Mr. Philip Warwick to repair unto you, at such a time and place as you shall appoint, by whom you shall understand what for the present is desired. By this answer, and some other circumstances I could tell you, it is conceived they are determined to treat. This is all at present.

May 11th, eleven o'clock at night.

I received your letter by Mr. Curtis, since the sealing hereof.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT BATH.

May it please your Lordship,

I have nothing to inform you from hence, we being but in preparation either for treating or working. I hear the substance of his Majesty's letter was this :—That he was sorry so much blood was shed by these wars, which he imputed to his ill counsel that led him to these ill actions; that if the Parliament would send the propositions entered on at Uxbridge, he will sign them; if not, to send such propositions as are ready, and he will sign them, and the rest as they shall offer them to him. For Religion, he desires it may be settled with all convenient speed; and for his person, that both Houses would dispose of him as may be most for his honour and for the honour of both Houses; and for Oxford, he had sent a warrant enclosed to the governor

thereof, for to surrender upon honourable terms. This is all I have to present your lordship with; but the humble duty of,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

May 26th, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT BATH.

May it please your Lordship,

Our treaty doth still continue. All things are agreed on concerning the soldiers, and they are satisfied with it. The article that took up the greatest debate was about compositions. We have accepted of two years' revenue; so that is concluded to. We think Monday will conclude all the rest. I think they do really desire to conclude with us. I thank your lordship for your care of me; but I doubt I shall not have time enough, so long as I am in this employment, to follow such a course as will help me. I believe Rushforth will give your lordship a further account of things from London. My wife presents her humble service and duty to your lordship; she is not quite resolved for a journey to Bath. I have nothing more to trouble your lordship with at this time: desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

June 13th, 1646.

On the same day, Rushworth writes about the London news. He has literally nothing to relate,

except that Hudson is taken in Kent. A dead lull has set in everywhere; and the War Secretary, "instead of mounting barbéd steeds," is house-agenting for his lordship.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX AT BATH.—[*HASTE.*]

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I AM loth to omit any opportunity of giving your lordship notice of affairs here. The treaty is in a manner concluded, for all matters of difficulty are over. The point of sequestration is reconciled; they agree to pay two years revenue. Hudson, that went away with the king, is taken in Kent. He confesses freely, of which your lordship will hear more shortly. The House of Commons is preparing a letter to the Parliament of Scotland; setting forth our jealousy of their army, and that to march home speedily, and deliver our garrisons, will be a means to set them right in our opinion. There is little news else: all are well here: though they be divided at London, we are united in the army. The French ambassador was this day to be heard in the House of Commons. The general has written again to the House about the disbanding of Major-General Massey's horse; there can none pass them; the messengers I send to your lordship I pay here out of the public stock, so they ought to receive nothing from your lordship. There is a house at Charing Cross, next door to my Lady Fairfax's, to be let about a month hence. It is, as I hear, about forty pounds a-year; hath a back door into Spring Garden, and a most convenient

house; most of the goods in it are to be sold. I desire your lordship's present answer herein.

J. R.

June 13th, 1646.

Ten o'clock at night, your company are newly come in, and say at next meeting all will be finished. About Thursday or Friday they will march out of Oxford.

A twelvemonth had elapsed since the new army had taken the field. A year of miracles! In the interval, the King's power had crumbled into dust. Fairfax had swept down his garrisons, and driven some of his choicest commanders, with the Prince of Wales at their head, out of the kingdom. The sound of the recruiting fife was heard no more in Wales; Scotland had expelled Montrose, and hanged such of his powerful friends as could be caught; the South and the West were restored to the whistling plough and the hum of business; a castle or two, here and there, held out, merely waiting the summons to surrender; and Oxford, the last refuge, after some formal coquetry, to keep up appearances with baffled allies abroad, submitted on the 20th June —the King having got off, in the disguise of a footman, upon the first notice of Fairfax's approach. The manner of his flight, with Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, following the latter as a servant, with a cloak-bag, behind him; his adventure with a barber, who found much fault with the style of his hair, which had been villanously cut for the masquerade of his new character;

his fright at St. Albans, when a drunken man galloped violently at him; and his miscalculation in seeking safety amongst the Scotch at Newark, are historical incidents familiar to the world.

Upon the surrender of Oxford, the two Princes, Rupert and Maurice, now ready enough to get away upon any terms, left the kingdom to join their cousin in France. Banbury Castle, and the towns of Wallingford and Worcester, after some little bluster, capitulated without firing a shot; and Fairfax, relieved for a season from his toils, went to Bath to recruit his shattered health.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

IT is so long since I writ, as I have need of your lordship's pardon. By this you will understand that Wallingford will be delivered up to us on Wednesday next. The particulars I have sent to the House. The Lord still follows us with His mercies. Oh, that we could be truly thankful to Him for them! Finding myself at some leisure, I thought it the fittest time for Bath. I did not see my coming to London could be any way serviceable, nor my stay about Oxford to much purpose, which made me choose that course, having such need of help for my health. I shall receive any advice from your lordship very thankfully, either concerning the public or myself in particular; and in the meantime I shall endeavour to keep together, and in good order, the

army, and shall wait on the Lord, to see what He shall do for us. My wife presents her duty to your lordship. She hath been very ill in her head. I hope we shall both have some benefit of Bath.

I desire your lordship to excuse me this brevity. I shall add more as there is occasion. So, desiring your blessing, remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Forest Hill, July 23rd, 1646.

While the General is indulging in a short respite at Bath, we will make room for a few miscellaneous letters of a personal and domestic kind which belong to this period.

The first is from Sir George Wentworth, who had been member for Pontefract, but was "disabled," for his adherence to the King. Two months from the 6th May were allowed for compositions under the treaty of Newark, and Wentworth, who appears to have been comprised in the articles, offers one of his estates for sale to Lord Fairfax, to make up the amount.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX AT BATH, THESE.

My Lord,

I am here at London prosecuting my composition according to the articles of Newark. I find it likely to fall extremely heavy on me, and that I might be forced to sell land to make satisfaction. Ouston, my lord, was yours, and

the likeliest to raise money of anything I have, and, therefore, my lord, if you please to buy it, it shall be yours before any other, and cheaper; and I hope your lordship will be pleased to think of it, and to give me an answer hereto when you return to this town; I am now for Yorkshire, having done here what I can until the Yorkshire Committee make their certificate, and so I rest,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

GEORGE WENTWORTH.

Sunday, June 16th, 1646.

Here are a couple of letters which exhibit, under different aspects, some of the troubles of the time: the first from a country gentleman who has endeavoured to keep clear of both sides, and is indebted for his security to Lord Fairfax; the second from one who remains in exile for the sake of peace and safety.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY MUCH HONOURED LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MY NOBLE LORD,

I WAS very joyful to hear by Sir John Paulett of your lordship's health and well-being, especially that you were pleased to call to memory our ancient acquaintance, with your noble desire to afford me your comfort in these my untimely sufferances; whose affections, as you may please to believe, never swayed me further than became an obedient servant, only careful of my country's happiness, and yet fearful to side with either party, as not able to judge of so transcendent a difference, but sorrowing in the highest degree to find such a separation threatening so much the

power of all; which God, I hope, hath timely prevented, by guiding his Majesty to the happy advice of his greatest councils, whose wisdoms (under God) is only able to re-establish some part of the happiness we once enjoyed, which God in mercy grant; that I may have the happiness to attend your lordship, solely to give you account how I have passed my time in these sad seasons, and to tell that there is nothing in my power that is not your lordship's to dispose of, in that I am not only a debtor to your lordship for your care to be helpful to me, but to your thrice-honoured son, for his ready acceptation of my submission, and favourable care I should receive no wrong while he stayed in these parts; and (as I have heard) his will taking what hath since been offered me: these are the cords that tie me to assure your lordship I shall ever be,

My Lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

F. Gorges.*

Ashton, June 1st, 1646.

FOR THE LORD BELLASISE, PRESENT THESE.

Your letter I have received by Sir Dudley Wyatt, and I have often writ to you, but I fear you have not received them. Do not come over to me, for it is to no purpose, and you serve a good master, and you must not be absent; but follow your resolutions, I like them exceedingly. Preserve your life: you have bought your experience. I keep health, but no wealth, for I seldom hear from home; yet I will follow your advice, and remain here till I hear better times. Farewell, and write often to me, if you can send safely. F.

From Pickpans, beside Paris, at Dr. Kerton's.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

We have next a batch of letters from Mr. Charles Fairfax, relating partly to public matters, but chiefly to some professional business in which he was engaged for the Ladies Cork and Pembroke; his daughter's marriage with Mr. Jennings; and various appointments he received through the favour of his brother. Roger Dodsworth, whose name occurs in the first letter, was the antiquary and author of the "Monasticon." To Sir Thomas Fairfax we are indebted for the preservation of Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

My most honourable good Lord,

You were pleased to deliver my letter to my Lady Pembroke. I am now to present my humble request to you to do the like to my lord, and to assure them both that it shall be my constant endeavour to improve my utmost ability to do them service. It is their pleasure to join Roger Dodsworth with me in the perusal and sorting their evidences in the castle, which I hope we shall do to my lady's contentment. You know his ability and approved experience in matters of antiquity, records, and evidences—the prime man of the kingdom in that course of practice—so that if my honourable lord and good lady be unprovided of a solicitor (as your lordship sees occasion) he may be recommended with credit and thanks: your lordship's continuance of your care and trouble in my behalf is humbly acknowledged as a very special favour.

If your Parliamentary employment be not inconsistent with your military, that noble gentleman may have it without any other intimation than that he will not reject the votes and affections of his country who most earnestly desire it, if no advantage may be taken upon the Self-denying Ordinance to oust him of his commands (a thing much feared) from two base sorts of people that have instigations from envy and hatred, which though they be clear contrary in their grounds the one to the other, yet, like Samson's foxes, they hang by the tails and easily agree in *aliquo tercio*.

The western gentleman he has been thoroughly sifted, and not to be suspected, nor need we fear any kind of competitor, nor indeed suspect that any one will appear. We should think it much happiness to see you in the county; your presence would much qualify the insufferable extravagances of the unruly soldiery. Very good orders are lately issued from the several committees, both of the war and joint Rydings. I have dispersed divers of them amongst your tenants in the Ainsty, who have deeply smarted, as likewise to others of them in other parts of the country.

My good lord, I am your honour's
In all duty and affection,
CHARLES FAIRFAX.

York, this 17th of January, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646].

Your lordship may please to know my Lady Pembroke's pleasure when Mr. Dodsworth and I shall repair to the castle, for there is no admittance to the evidences till there be a meeting of persons authorised by a joint assignation of both the ladies.

I beseech your lordship spare the imparting of this postscript, for I am now informed we may have the liberty, and perhaps this scruple may not be well taken.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

My very good Lord,

I have now received the grant from your lordship for the under-stewardship of Pontefract, for which I most humbly thank you; and the next week, when the sessions are ended, having already dispatched the leet at Skipton, I shall, God willing, attend those courts, and whatever be the profits, for of late years seventeen or eighteen copy-hold manors are infranchised; one only remaining, Tanshall, the least within all that honour. This only for your lordship's information, and not to undervalue the gift, for I prefer it before a place of more benefit, because I have your lordship my chief.

Having now returned my humble thanks, I am earnestly to implore your lordship's help to the country. I did formerly remonstrate the sad condition of the West Riding, the visitation having been for a long time together in fourscore towns within one, over or under. Wakefield and other places continue infected, and some parts of Leeds parish broken out again, besides divers other towns; and this summer, it is feared, will be exceedingly grievous. The Advice of the London Physicians, in a printed book, hath been of excellent use, but there not being any directions at all concerning cleansing, we are in a little time after in as ill a condition; for if we had any of skill to be got that will undertake it, as some there are, but their rates are so high and the country so poor, they are not able to pay them. Your lordship has the hearts and prayers of that people, and you have neither spared purse nor pains to do them good. Think not slightly, I beseech you, of this serious request. Be pleased my good lord, that divers of the physicians be consulted with for the

best and cheapest means for cleansing the houses, furniture, and stuff. Their results will be useful for the whole kingdom, and God knows how soon this overflowing scourge may pass further. Your lordship knows their trading consists much in wool, and therefore there would be particular directions how to use it in the fleece, yarn, cloth, &c.; how their utensils of wood—bedsticks, tables, stools, gists, &c.; how their metals, pots, pewter, leads, &c.; how their walls, floors, roofs, &c.; beds, linen, &c. It will be a most acceptable present to the country, and the sooner the better. Leeds desires a government, such as they had before these times of distraction, that they be not enforced to seek help at distance; and for obtaining their charter, are most humble suitors to your lordship and good Sir Thomas Widdrington.

For the free school at Ottley it seems by Mr. Fawkes, his inquiry, that for the forty mark rent reserved to the master and usher, (it is upon a lease for 1000 years of lands in Camoth, with clause of re-entry,) there is not above sixty acres of land, whereof twenty are barren; they lie in the North Riding, where the Scots have so disabled them that for two years' arrears not above twenty can be gotten; nor above that sum for the next year's rent both to the master and usher, the tenant discharging all lays and assessments. The school is repairing, and we will hope to have your lordship down before they make choice of a master.

And now, according to your commands, I shall give your lordship a short account of my service to my Lord and Lady Pembroke. For seven weeks' time I was never absent from Skipton, but only one night that I went to take view of my family. Such was the multiplicity of my troubles by country people in this want of justices that I had few hours my own; therefore a very ill servant, not worthy my

diet, though we had but one meal a day; yet what I could not do on the day I sometimes perfect out with the night. I stayed the longer in expectation of the commissioners; and when they come, if I be required, shall not be wanting with my best assistance; but I desire to know my work, and see my warrant. If the way be shown me, I shall like it the better, but upon such emergent occasions as necessarily require a present dispatch, I shall carefully observe my first commission, (their honour and profit). For the business of Carleton, that your lordship writes of, you may please to take this information; and it will not be amiss to make a digression. In the miserable want of a minister at Skipton, (Lord make us most sensible of our greatest wants), I had often intreated Mr. Price of Carleton (the best in those parts) to supply the cure. That lordship was my Lord George's, but within the award. I writ to my lady for a particular of such lands of the Lady Cork's as we must not meddle with, and for a copy of the award; and had this answer, that her ladyship never consented unto it, nor will be bound by it, but is now to demand her whole inheritance as rightful heir to her father, both by the laws of God and the kingdom. I thought this a sufficient warrant to restrain the workmen from felling more trees, having made great destruction, yet allowed them to take such small pieces as were in danger of stealing. This was justifiable if it had been her own; for my lord, her husband, being a delinquent, I (as one of the committee) had reason to do it for the benefit of the public, for I do not suppose that a composition for one year will enable a delinquent to destroy all his woods. And for an entry they do me injury to make me so busy; for without special order (where a little delay can bring no prejudice) I am exceeding tender of giving offence. For the other part

of my charge, the denial of an interview to any of her substitutes in perusal of the evidences, I confess it to be true till I have directions from my lady; nor can our sole intermedling be just cause of offence when she has had so free a liberty without any one in the world on my lady's part to see a fair carriage: our credits and reputations are as dear as theirs; and I neither have nor will do anything that I will not justify upon oath to be just and honest to the best of my knowledge.

I know not how Mr. Robert Christopher may represent my carriage; but if his relations to your lordship have the lenity of his intelligences to my Lady Cork, they will do me good that they make you merry. In one of his letters (which Mr. Thompson showed me) he wrote to this effect, that your lordship was to come down from London to sort evidences at Skipton Castle with Sir Thomas Strickland. And whereas he tells you that my Lady Pembroke is contented to stand to the award, it is clearly otherwise, as appears by her vehement protestations against it in very many letters to me; yet as a most noble lady, will she deal honourably with such persons whose estates depend upon it, if they have the good manners to acknowledge it her bounty. Your lordship must pardon me many faults, this tedious relation being one of the least.

Be pleased to remember me to all my good friends.

Your lordship's affectionate brother,

And most humble servant,

C. Fairfax.

Menston, this 8th of April, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

My most honourable good Lord,

Three letters I have received from your lordship, by the three last posts, and for each of them return thrice humble thanks. Your lordship's seasonable advice concerning my carriage in this tickle employment is exceeding weighty. I cannot attain the happiness to be a repairer of the breach, yet hope it shall never be objected against me with any colour of truth, that I make any gap either to let in charge or debate betwixt any at all, much less between persons of honour and in so near relation. I have often begged of my Lady Pembroke to receive her commands concerning the trunk of Evidences, selected out of both studies, by the Lady Cork, with prelude of a peculiar interest, though upon the view I persuade myself there are many in which my lady is at least equally concerned, if not entirely. A letter, it seems, was sent to that purpose, (as is intimated unto me by the last from my lady), but it is not received, so that I want my instructions; yet my lady writes to the Countess of Cork, (which I am now to deliver), that she has written to me about it, and makes no doubt but I shall give her good satisfaction. Thus your lordship sees what great straits I am put to, and how it cannot be otherwise conceived than that I am the ill instrument of their unhappy differences betwixt the ladies. I should have writ to my Lady Pembroke by this post, but am here enforced to break off, or lose my opportunity, and with thanks do present myself

Your lordship's most humble servant,

C. Fairfax.

York, April 18th, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE, QUEEN STREET, WESTMINSTER, PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I DID, in a late letter to my sister Constable, acquaint her with an overture of marriage from Mr. Peter Jennings, in behalf of his grandchild with my daughter Nell. What was then mere doubtful in the reality of his intentions, (I only taking my intelligence from others), is now well and fully cleared by his own expressions, that the want of portion must make no breach. He is very shortly for London, to pay in his compensation, being one of the most innocent delinquents in all the country, for that little he did for the enemy's party was extorted from him by threats and imprisonment, the best part of his estate laid under the power of that garrison of Skippon, and himself likewise in near a tie to the late Earl of Cumberland. I shall humbly beg from your lordship your fair respects towards him if he come to attend you, and your acknowledgment of her in so near a relation. Your lordship's bounty to divers of her brothers will clear the suspicion of any design upon you, for all that is expected is that which is left her, secured out of Menston; for the interest whereof I shall give her security, if it be required, until the sum be payable, being Michaelmas three years. The lands engaged are better worth than forty merks per annum. So I fear no danger of any failure of payment. The young gentleman has a good report, and a general testimony to be of a sweet disposition. A Cambridge man of about nineteen years of age, that never contributed any fuel to these flaws. I cannot but acknowledge a good providence in it, that it should seem of their seeking; for being so far

above my hopes in respect of the state, I should never have attempted it. The sum is now upon composition: his only offence was acting as a sub-committee in the Lord Newcastle's time for regulating of assessments and allowing of billet for the ease of the country. His father paid 900*l.*, and I fear they will have 100*l.* from him for his wife's land, being 40*l.* per annum. A good word from your lordship may very much avail him.

My brother Wentworth is very diligent in his business, to speed his work, but fears the danger of the last ordinance, that requires it before August; demands your lordship's help that he be at no prejudice. For your lordship's many remembrances in Mr. Clapham's letters, accept the humble thanks of

Your lordship's humble servant,

C. Fairfax.

York, July 24th, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, WESTMINSTER, THESE PRESENT.

My most honoured good Lord,

Of all the infirmities your lordship knows by me, that of unthankfulness is without my charge. Every letter your lordship either writes to myself or friends in these parts gives me new occasion to tell your lordship I want words to express, no heart to resent your favours. You are a father indeed, and that is nature which will do much in this work, but it has a transcendancy and elevation above such a meridian. Mr. Jennings with his grandchild are now shortly for their journey. If at the report upon return of his moneys

(being a very great sum for so small a delinquency as can be objected against him), there may be any return of some part of his composition, or any ease in his son's, being only a regulator of assessments in my Lord of Newcastle's time, I should cast this into the deck as a favour to myself, being in this treaty, the reality whereof I cannot suspect. I humbly thank your lordship for your last bounty to Tom, which the next day I received I returned unto him by the help of Mr. Farrand. I beseech your lordship's excuse the post-haste of

Your most obliged brother and servant,

C. Fairfax.

14*th August*, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

My very good Lord,

I humbly thank your lordship for the good advice and countenance in this great business that concerns my daughter. Delays are dangerous; I could wish it were hastened with most conveniency. The grandfather is aged and very infirm. Of his reality I am most of all confident. His other friends here are far more dilatory, which occasions some jealousy. Your lordship has both a great deal of affection and wisdom to carry on the work; and to God's blessing and the marriage of such worthy good friends, I humbly recommend the increase and issue, as He in mercy shall dispose it. I have to beg your lordship's directions to Mr. Price, minister at Carleton in Craven, how he may steer his course for reparation of his losses and augmentation of means. A constant preacher and affectionate to the Parliament, which occasions his sufferings from the garrison of

Skipton, of which, if your lordship had time, he could make a woful relation. My good lord, I am in all relations and obligations, your lordship's

Most affectionate and most humble servant,

C. Fairfax.

York, this 29th August, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, PRESENT.

My most honourable good Lord,

I present my humble thanks to your lordship for my children and the addition to my livelihood in the late stewardships you are pleased to confer upon me, viz. Rippon, Cawood, and Ottley; some claims there are to both the former (by the committee's order, which was but *pro tempore*), to which your lordship's letter will be fully satisfactory. This inclosed I received from Sir Robert Barwick, who is much displeased that he should be outed of the stewardship of St. Mary's. Your lordship had no notice how he was interested, so that your recommendation of the other gentleman cannot be ill taken. I shall desire nothing in his behalf which your lordship shall not think fitting, but could earnestly wish that some intimation were given him that your lordship knew not that he did execute the place.

I have not heard from Mr. Jennings since his return into the country, but hear he will shortly make a journey into Craven, where I think I shall see him, and observe your commands. And for all your affectionate endeavours to do

us good, I shall, as most really engaged, most cheerfully subscribe myself,

My lord,

Your honour's most faithful servant,

C. Fairfax.

Menston, 10*th October*, 1646.

I beseech your lordship that my best services may be presented to all my good friends.

TO MY ASSURED FRIEND, MR. CHARLES FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE AT MENSTON IN YORKSHIRE, THIS.

Sir,

This day I received your letter of the 29th of the last month, wherein you tell me that Mr. Waterton hath at length finished the drawings of the landscapes of Shipton Castle and of Bardon Tower; but I have not received either of those landscapes, in which I pray you earnestly to take some care in searching diligently what is become of them, that so I may have them safely delivered to me, which, when it is done, I will send the gentleman (Mr. Waterton) whatsoever you shall think fit, and I pray you in your next letter write me word what you think is fit for me to send him. I will do my good will to your eldest daughter might do her any good, or to any of your other children, for I acknowledge myself much obliged to you; which I will study to requite; and so I rest,

Your assured true friend,

Anne Pembroke.

Bau Castle, November 3rd, 1646.

Mr. Benjamin Kane came hither to me and Isabella,* the 26th day of the last month, but brought no money out of Carnan to us, as I imagine you know before-hand. When I had nearly done writing of this letter, so far as this, did I now receive the survey of Shipton and Bardon Tower, for which I pray you give Mr. Waterton what you think fit, and write me word what you have given him, and I will send it you again.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, PRESENT.

Right Honourable,

In this general letter now directed to your lordship from the joint committee, some (upon pretence that it would be a trouble to your lordship) pitched upon another, but being ill taken by others that any should be thought more concerned in receiving our addresses, (for recommendation to the Parliament than yourself, in whom the country has a special interest by their own elections), it was thereupon voted to sue to your lordship, and we doubt not to hear from you as effectually as from those that would ingratiate themselves with the county for such good offices. I humbly thank your lordship for the stewardship of the courts at Ripon, and do wonder that Mr. Armitage should conceive it a disparagement to be ousted when he was only put in *pro tempore* by the committee, there being then no High Steward, who, every man knows, must appoint his Substitute. There are three several officers; the first is *Senescallus Domini*, which is your lordship—this, by patent, was granted by Law, Archbishop of York, unto Richard Duke of

* Lady Isabella Sackville, her daughter, by the Earl of Dorset.

Gloucester, (together with bow-bearership), for life, anno 1411. The next is *Subsenescallus, sive Senesse Curiar.*, which I now hold by your lordship's gift; and the last is *Clericus Curie*, always a servant to the substeward, but never any office; and hence ariseth all the benefit, and a great benefit it was to Mr. Winill that last had it.

I beseech your lordship be pleased as *Custos Rotulorum* of the West-riding to regulate the fees both for Clerk of the Peace and Justices' Clerk, which are shamefully extravagant; it will be very much for your lordship's honour, and a most acceptable service to all the country that groan under oppressions, and a rule must help us. God reward your love both to me and mine. I am,

My lord,

Your honour's most humble servant,

C. Fairfax.

York, November 13th, 1646.

I desire to know of your lordship whether it will not be an offence if Mr. Jennings (who was an easy delinquent, but has now compounded,) do sometimes supply my place at Ripon, if all things go well in the other motion, as I still hope they will.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN COVENT GARDEN, PRESENT.

Right Honourable,

Your lordship's suspicion of the young man's affections, I fear has its ground; for it is supposed he may have some thoughts towards Sir Thomas Harrison's daughter. She wants no solicitors to further the motion, if it be so; but jealousy is an unequal judge, and I hope better: a little time

will now discover it. I am very confident it is without the grandfather's privity, for he is unquestionably real and forward for his marriage. I was bold to draw on the father, to make a promise of the clerkship of the courts at Ripon, (your lordship's good gift,) and if it take effect, shall beg your confirmation of it to the grandchild, reserving to myself the attendants and service, which, if I had hopes of a longer life (there being now small cause to expect it in regard of growing infirmities), I should think happily bestowed upon so good an occasion. My wife and I present our humble thanks for your great charge with Tom, and your noble intentions for Will's preferment signified unto us by your lordship's last letter. She humbly resigns to your lordship's good pleasure her dearest darling. I know, my lord, you are not unmindful of our poor church of Ottley, to procure a certain endowment to it, as likewise to Denton and Baildon parochial chaptries. This day died Mr. Procter; and Nicholas Lindley about a fortnight ago. I wish your lordship would think of the seigniority of Ottley, lest some (least suspected) prove too unable in the business. My humble service to your good lady from your lordship's servant,

C. Fairfax.

Menston, December 16th, 1646.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was not permitted to enjoy much repose at Bath. Ragland Castle, in South Wales, still held out; and the old Marquis of Worcester, whose house it was, and who had expended in the Royal cause the prodigious sum of 20,000*l.*, which he feared he should never get back again, was reluctant to give up his "poor cottage," without having some previous com-

munication with his master, the fugitive King. His 20,000*l.* troubled him much; and as Colonel Morgan, who was conducting the siege, found it impossible to reason with him, and was really unwilling to ruin him, Sir Thomas Fairfax went down in person to bring the affair to a conclusion.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

My Lord,

I was sorry I could not more fully understand your lordship's mind, by the messenger you had committed it to; for I should be exceeding glad to receive often such light and help as I might have from your lordship in this troublesome condition I am in; but I trust the Lord will make it some ways comfortable to me, if I have no end to myself in it; nor do I see yet the army hath any, but principally seeks to do that which is for the honour of God, and the good of the kingdom. I am now before Ragland. It is very strong, well manned, and victualled. I took advantage of their inclination to treat. I have offered the soldiers honourable conditions, and that the Earl should remain quiet in his house till the Parliament be pleased to dispose otherwise of him. I durst not offer anything more to one that is so obnoxious to them; but I doubt if there be nothing more done for him, we shall expect little good from this way; and the country is very fearful of a long siege; earnestly desiring the Earl might have leave to go beyond sea, so they might be freed of this garrison. And if the Parliament would consider what it is to engage so much of their army here, and how

disaffected these parts are, so long as this place is untaken, they would find it not only to be a singular benefit for Wales, but much good to the affairs of the whole kingdom. Though they gave something that might encourage my lord of Worcester to surrender, I could not be satisfied till I had discharged my thought, though I cannot act in that way which I think will be a more considerable good for the public affairs. After I have settled some things here, I intend (God willing) to return again to Bath, having found already some good by it. I shall trouble your lordship no more now, but remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Ragland, August 10th, 1646.

In a week from the date of this letter, Fairfax entered the castle, which the poor old Marquis was at last induced to surrender, dined with the Committee at Chepstow, and returned to his quiet quarters at Bath.

With the exception of a few places in the North, which were yet in the possession of the Scotch, the whole country was now in the hands of Parliament.

Early in September, Fairfax returned to the army, in the neighbourhood of Oxford.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM returned from Bath, I hope with some benefit. I thought it would be more fit for me to return to my quarters near Oxford, than to come yet to London. I hope we shall now settle the army so as there shall be fewer

complaints. I hear very little of the foot; the horse hath been less payed, but no less restrained from injuries; I shall desire to prevent them all I can. Rushworth will acquaint your lordship with our condition here, so as I shall not trouble your lordship further. I have sent Sharp to take an account of such things as are in the house in Queen Street. My wife doth intend to be there the next week herself. I shall desire your lordship to make use still of that house, if you think fit; so humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Forest Hill, 17th September, 1646.

The following letter from Mr. Charles Fairfax, refers to a contested election which had just terminated between Mr. David Copley and Mr. White, for Pontefract. Mr. White was nominated upon the interest of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who shows himself a practical reformer in the matter of purity of election.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, WESTMINSTER.

MY MOST HONOURED GOOD LORD,

IN this business of election we found on Mr. Lionel Copley's part very much of the lion's skin, but more of the fox's tail; he has not been wanting in a bountiful entertainment, in courting the burgers both with wine and venison; by himself and his agents giving all assurance of a real

accomplishment of what they desired; possessing them all in his wonted confidence, that no man living was better acquainted with the mysteries of Parliament than he himself, that would be their incessant solicitor. We came upon a disadvantage which wanted no pressing by him and his coadjutors, which could not be so ill on Mr. White's part as they did vehemently enforce it, and most of the townsmen, too apt to believe it, but his letters of excuse and future diligence will repair that error, which some peevishly affected would have to reflect upon your lordship, who recommended him. Indeed I am confident they made it much worse to gain a party; I am very glad this was no cause of offence on my nephew's part, who carried on the business in a discreet moderation, without threat or promise, or any entertainment until the election was past, and then he spared no cost, nor wanted other expressions to give a real testimony of his utmost desires to do them service. Colonel Overton has wanted neither affection nor wisdom, nor given any occasion whereat they can quarrel. He that so cavilled at my nephew Fairfax, his letters procured another in his own behalf from General Poyntz, to the mayor and burgers, which he only caused to be read, but not delivered, suspecting the effect and the governor's diligence; he seconds this project, and a message is sent from the general to Colonel Overton, to come instantly to York, but he deferred it. I shall not trouble your lordship with any other particulars in this business, only must present my most humble thanks to your good lordship for the variety of your favours to my children, and to

Your lordship's most humble servant,

C. Fairfax.

25th of September, 1646.

A "piping time of peace," brief and uneasy, but the more eagerly embraced, perhaps, for that very reason, had now set in everywhere; and in this interval, snatching what contentment he might out of such circumstances, Lord Fairfax takes a second wife to manage his house and mend his estate. His lordship announces the happy event in a letter to his brother, the retired clergyman, at Bolton Percy; which is followed by a letter of congratulation from his brother, the antiquary.

FOR MR. HENRY FAIRFAX, AT BOLTON.

Good Brother,

I suppose before this the news of my marriage will be come into the country, and variously reported, according to the intelligence of the messenger, or his affection to me. My solitary condition and want of help in managing household affairs (which I am forced unto), made me think of a gentlewoman for assistance and comfort. Her virtue was the chief thing drew my affections, which was much commended by the parents and friends of her former husband. She was the widow of Mr. Hussey, in Lincolnshire; daughter of Mr. Chapman, of Hertfordshire, whose father was a citizen. She has five children, but provided for in such manner as I hope will not be burthensome, and her estate (though not great) may be sufficient, by God's blessing, in part to supply the defects of my own towards our maintenance, for I found small these four years from my tenants in any place. I heartily wish I could have had the advice of

children, brothers, and near friends, but I hope the course I have taken will not be prejudicial to any, nor cause of offence. My journey into the country is like to be stayed till the next spring. I pray you remember my service to my sister. I rest

Your very affectionate brother,

FER. FAIRFAX.

October 20th, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, PRESENT THESE.

MY GOOD LORD,

I SHOULD be loth to be the last (since it is not with the least affection) to congratulate your happy choice, and hope that you may not only build your house (now reduced in your male line to a narrow compass), but (that I may wish great things for you) let them equal your other children, the ornaments not only of their family, but of eminent esteem in the eye of the kingdom. It is the prayer of God's people, that that line may long flourish a living monument to future posterity, polished stones in God's building, as a remembrance of those that have done worthily in our Ephratha,—the repairers of our breaches,—choice instruments in the work of that Temple whose builder and maker is God. Let not that coal be quenched, and not only a remainder, (which you have indeed, to the envy and admiration of other families), but a name be left unto you upon the earth.

Having given your lordship a view of my heart in your business, I now come to my own. Mr. Jennings, by a visit yesterday, prevented my journey to Skipton on Monday,

designed for a meeting. The man is real, and most cordial in the prosecution, but a sudden conclusion was not to be expected, before a thorough acquaintance; and some here in the country were to be satisfied upon the grandfather's view and report, before the young gentleman should too far engage his affections. He has now directions to renew his suit. I beseech your lordship he may have all encouragements, and that his peremptory expressions (when pressed on a sudden to a positive answer) may give no disgust.

I desire that mine and my wife's most humble services may be presented to your honourable lady. If your lordship please that some of your servants may acquaint Mr. Armitage (being now in town) that it is your honour's pleasure to confer the Stewardship of Ripon upon me, upon his discharge (being only in *pro tempore* upon the committee's order), I shall then attend it: and the like for Mr. Hewley, who by a like order is placed at Cawood. Indeed I find by my attendance at Ottley, that there have been insufferable inconveniences by the former stewards that have taken presentments of *omnia bene*, and they now expect the like usage, which Justices of the Peace, having the engagement of an oath, cannot allow them. I beseech your lordship that Thomas Barker, who has from your honour the grant of under-stewardship, may be required to put in a sufficient substitute, that since he has all the benefit, he may ease me of a good part of the trouble.

My lord,
I am ever your lordship's faithful servant,
C. Fairfax.

October 27th, 1646.

A letter from Alderman Atkins, who represented Norwich in Parliament, and who, as he plainly tells his

constituents, was thereby incapacitated from accepting any place of emolument, shows what sort of relations, in some instances, subsisted between electors and their representatives. The ordinance for the sale of Bishops' lands, referred to by Mr. Atkins, passed on 16th November.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL HENRY WATTS, ESQ., MAYOR OF NORWICH.

Right Worshipful,

My due respect remembered unto you, and all your brethren. This is to certify you, that now the ordinance is passed for the sale of the Bishops' lands, which I send hereinclosed; those that will secure their money, lent formerly upon the propositions, began to pay in their money last Friday morn, and before Saturday night above 40,000*l.* was paid in. So that if yourself or any else will do the same, it will be time to do it; for the House was moved, last Friday, to order, that if any other men that had paid in no money upon the propositions did bring in any sum, it should be received, which the treasurers had no power to do before; for one brought in 1000*l.* more than his money was, to equal his former lent money, and it would not be received; but now it is consented unto, and money is paid in accordingly. I paid in mine last Friday, being 658*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*; and I have a note for so much more, to have the use at five months, and use and principal in course out of Excise Office, if it be not paid me before, out of money received upon sale of Bishops' lands. I write you this much in regard you may now secure that which, three months since, was thought desperate. I thought it my duty to let you know what is

here done upon that business. The Eastern Association Committee have sat but once since your aldermen were here, and then I did move for an order to have your pieces delivered back wherever they were found. It held some debate, but the result was, that unless it could be set down where they were it could not be done at present; for if any be in any garrison yet maintained, not thought fit to remove them, till the kingdom be better settled; besides, the season of year is not to remove them. If you write where the two small pieces are, I shall get an order for them. No opportunity yet to move for the union of the parishes, in the House. I doubt not but they will confirm it as you desire. I will not be forgetful of it.

On the 19th day of this month, was a year, since I sat in the Parliament upon your election, being thereby, you see, made incapable of any place of benefit, as you see, still cast upon such as are no members of the House of Commons; and now, in this inclosed ordinance upon several of my fellow-aldermen and other citizens to their profit; and were I at liberty, I doubt not but I had been partakers with them. I am by your means taken off all business. I know the burthen, and therefore I did labour against it; but it pleased God so to dispose of me. I do therefore expect from you such allowance as my predecessors have had. I shall strive to deserve it, in my care and diligence. Our city burgesses here are paid quarterly; and so, not doubting of your performance, I take leave, and rest,

Your Worship's to command,

THOMAS ATKIN.*

Laus Deo. London, Nov. 23rd, 1646.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Norwich appears to have been hard pressed for money. The mayor of Lynn writes urgently to his "loving friend" the mayor of Norwich for a subsidy of 400*l.* A long time elapsed before these pecuniary burthens were finally adjusted over the kingdom.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND HIS LOVING FRIEND, MR. MAYOR OF NORWICH, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

THE miserable condition that this poor town is in, I suppose is not unknown to you. Where soldiers are, and no money to pay them, the cry of the inhabitants there must needs be great. So is it here at present with us. Mr. Corbett informed me, a month since, that our treasurers, Alderman Robinson and Alderman Wormell, should have from your city of Norwich 400*l.* forthwith; our cries are here so great, for the want of it; and having this conveyance by Mr. Hullior and others, I entreat that you will be pleased to send to our treasurers the said sum of 400*l.* by this bearer, Mr. Hullior, by whom our treasurers have sent a receipt for the same. Thus, with my kind respects, I rest

Your loving friend and servant,

THOMAS TOLL,

*Mayor.**

Lynn, December 1st, 1646.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, having completed his round of conquests, arrived in London on the 12th of November.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

He was met some miles outside the city by the militia, who escorted him to his house, where he was waited upon by deputations from both Houses of Parliament, and received at their hands the thanks and congratulations of the nation.

The sale of the Bishops' lands proceeded rapidly, and the sum of 200,000*l.* having been realised towards the close of November, it was forwarded under convoy to York, to be paid over to the Scots, who were thereupon to evacuate the garrisons they held in the North. The war was now ended—if appearances and promises were to be trusted; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, having a little leisure to look into his private affairs, found himself in the situation of a man, who, in devoting himself to the business of the public, has wholly neglected his own.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I THOUGHT it fit to discharge this duty of writing to your lordship, though I have little from hence to advertise you of. By this time the convoy is at York. I sent with it three regiments of horse, three regiments of foot, and 500 dragoons. This number, I hope, will prevent jealousies, and yet be sufficient to secure their charge. 12,000*l.* is sent down with these, that they might discharge their quarters. I have not now much business here; yet I conceive it fit to be with the army till the Scots be marched out of the kingdom, or on their march. I hear my wife intends to come to

Northampton. I know not whether I should advise her to stay, or not; but if she come, her own trouble will be more than any inconvenience by the journey. Though now it hath pleased God, in some good measure, to settle the general affairs of the kingdom, I should be glad to settle mine own in some more certainty, till I see how it may please God further to dispose of me; but I must confess that neither myself nor any with me can advise me what is the best course to take in this thing, the public business having wholly taken up my thoughts, making me a stranger to my own business, and that, I most fear, to my nearest and dearest friends. I hope the Lord will direct me what to do, or willingly to obey whatsoever your lordship shall advise or command me, who am

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Northampton, Dec. 30th, 1646.

I humbly present my service to my lady.

By the close of the year, the negociations concerning the disposal of his Majesty's person were brought to a conclusion. The King was obstinate to the last about the Covenant, and the Scots, having received their 200,000*l.*, resolved to give him up to the Parliament.

1647.

THE KING CONDUCTED UNDER ESCORT TO HOLMBY.

GRIEVANCES OF THE ARMY.

THE KING IS CARRIED OFF BY CORNET JOYCE.

TREATY BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE PARLIAMENT.

RIOT OF THE APPRENTICES AND FLIGHT OF THE SPEAKERS.

FAIRFAX RE-ESTABLISHES THE PARLIAMENT IN WESTMINSTER.

THE KING ESCAPES FROM HAMPTON COURT.

THE ROYAL FUGITIVE A PRISONER AT CARISBROOK CASTLE.

1647.

The commissioners appointed by Parliament to conduct his Majesty to his destination at Holmby arrived in Newcastle on the 23rd January, and the escort set out on the 3rd February. Fairfax had left London about the middle of December, to join the army at Nottingham; and Skippon, who, on Fairfax's recommendation, had been appointed Governor of Newcastle, was already in the North, taking possession as the Scots retired. On the 11th February, the royal cortège approached Nottingham, and Fairfax went out to meet the King. It was the first time they had looked into each other's face since the meeting at Heyworth Moor, when "fiery Tom" forced the petition of the people upon the pommel of his Majesty's saddle. Had his Majesty hearkened to that petition, this strange scene had been spared to both. A strange scene it was, after all that had passed between them in the interval: the lives that had been sacrificed, the deadly hostility and disorganisation into which the whole kingdom had been plunged. And here they met on the high road, his Majesty graciously reining up his horse, and Fairfax kissing hands, and riding by his Majesty's side into Nottingham!

A week afterwards he wrote to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

HERE is now but little business in these parts to write of, nor much for me to do here yet: my being in the army hath been some ways necessary for the ordering of it, and keeping the officers here together; which else would have been more, from their charge, and which will yet occasion my longer stay in London till I can settle things, so as there may be constantly general officers enough in the head quarter, to order the affairs of the army. We hear it is not like to be of long continuance. I doubt many hath given such discouragement to the soldiers as they will be more willing to lay down their arms than engage themselves in any other service, unless they like their conditions they shall go upon. Rushworth will give your lordship further account of things this way. I shall add no more, but my prayers for your health, and my service to my lady. So take leave to rest

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Nottingham, Feb. 18th, 1646. (*N. S.* 1647.)

The "discouragement" first showed itself amongst the citizens of London, who petitioned against being put to further expenses, and prayed vigorously that the army might be disbanded. The work was finished, and the army was to be got rid of at once. London had mounted to freedom, and was impatient to kick down the ladder! The question grew wider and took a graver

shape afterwards, drawing in men of all shades of opinion, and dividing the kingdom at last into Two great Parties. Parliament yielded a little at first, and ordered that the army should not take up quarters within twenty-five miles of London. The civil power affected a great fear of the military, to whom arrears of pay were still due, and even went so far as to accuse them of "designs." The unsettled state of things gave a sort of colouring to these charges, for the soldiers clamoured for their pay, and were not easily restrained from breaking the twenty-five miles circle. Soldiers were required for Ireland, and the army made conditions with Parliament that, at all events, their allowances should be secured to them. It was strange, as Fairfax observes in the next letter, that the army should make propositions to Parliament; but it was wiser to prevent mutinies than to suppress them.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP

To pardon my long silence, though I have heard often from your lordship. That which you desire concerning Colonel Overton, I shall be very ready to do what I can for him, and shall be very glad to bring so deserving a man into the army; but as affairs are at this present, I cannot do much. What our business hath been with the commissioners sent from Derby House, Rushworth will give your lordship a full account. Though it may seem strange the army doth

make propositions to the Parliament about conditions of going into Ireland, yet it did seem to us more honest, modestly to desire such things as might enable them to carry on that service than hereafter, when they repent of their forwardness to mutiny, and with more insolency demand the dues; but by this, I hope, the service more advanced than hindered. I have my health but ill this spring. I go, to-morrow, God willing, for a day or two to my Lady Vere's. The country here doth like very well of the army, and is very sorry that there should be any petition against them. I have given order to free Sir Roger North's house, though there was none quartered there when he complained; but there is good reason he should be free. I shall here take leave to refer your lordship to Rushworth, to know how they stand here. So, desiring your blessing, with my service to my lady, I remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

March 23*rd*, 1646. (*N. S.* 1647.)

I had sent the Barbary to Denton before this, but that some grease is fallen into one of his legs, which, I hope, in a few days he will be recovered of, and then he shall go.

The Colonel Overton alluded to in this letter, about whom Lord Fairfax interested himself, was a *protégé* of Cromwell's, who prevailed upon Sir Thomas to appoint him Governor of Hull. He afterwards went with Cromwell into Scotland, and was steadfast to his patron till the Protectorate, when Cromwell, finding his republicanism inconvenient, dismissed him from his service, and committed him to the Tower.

The army grievance was want of money. It breaks out every where. Want of confidence was bad enough, after the hard service they had gone through, but want of money was worse for the time being. Similar difficulties arose about the composition of tithes, and the payment of ministers. In short, this money difficulty furnished the first pretext for the breaking out of discontents that lay deeper, and were fraught with graver consequences. Goldsmiths' Hall was the centre of the agitation. The disbanding of the army, the struggle between the Presbyterians and the Independents, and the wearisome negociations with the King, occupy a troublesome interval. All the letters of this period point to these prominent questions, throwing such accidental light upon them as the positions of the writers enabled them to collect.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE little to trouble your lordship withal at this time. The soldiers in divers parts in this county begin to complain most of want of moneys; those at Skipton Castle have been in a mutiny, imprisoned two sequestrators, and threatened to seize upon the goods and furniture of the Castle; but upon the payment of some money, and a letter to the governor there from the committee of the West Riding,

I hope that disorder is appeased. Mr. Hulburne hath showed me the new dedimus for Ousten, which he will take care to get executed. Sir George Wentworth and his son were both here the last week, and had a meeting with Sir William St. Quinton about the portion. The most he will condescend to pay is 1000*l.*, for the marriage being past, he hath the law and measure of the portion in his own hands, and the treaty for it now is not upon even grounds. I am sorry the son's act should be so prejudicial both to his father and himself. I purpose, God willing, to begin my journey upon Monday and Tuesday next, and humbly present my duty to your lordship and my lady, and remain,

My lord,
Your lordship's humble servant,
TH. WIDDRINGTON.

York, the 16th of April, 1647.

The want of "preaching ministers," or rather, of the means of paying them, is strenuously urged upon Lord Fairfax in the subjoined letter from Sir John Bourchier. Sequestrations, assessments, and compositions had absorbed all available funds, and thus the question of the maintenance of religion came to be mixed up at Goldsmiths' Hall with the question of—"What was to be done with the Army?" But it is with the army we are chiefly concerned. The religious element which was mixed up so largely in the struggle of parties at this period, hardly enters into the Fairfax Correspondence; Sir Thomas Fairfax having from the first disclaimed, in the name of the army, all intention of interfering with such matters.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, A MEMBER OF THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, THESE PRESENT.

Right Honourable,

You were pleased to procure an order from the committee of plundered ministers, that 40*l.* per annum might be paid unto Mr. Taylor, minister, for to officiate at the church of Usbaldwick, on maintenance of the impropriate tithes of Sir William Robinson; but now Sir William Robinson hath compounded at Goldsmiths' Hall, and therefore that salary will be taken away, except your lordship shall make some speedy means to the committee of Goldsmiths' Hall, that Sir William Robinson may have so much abated, proportionably as that 40*l.* per annum is worth in his last payment. My humble suit is that you will seriously take into consideration your great want of maintenance for preaching ministers in this your blind country, and that what is already granted may be continued, that no delinquent may be suffered to make any composition for fixed tithes; and that also there may be some other way to raise provision for the cheerful subsistence of the ministry. It hath pleased God to make you instrumental to help, quiet, and subdue our enemies and God's: let me beseech you to stretch out the utmost of your power, that the gospel may flourish in these parts. There are many that have private aims in their public employment; but I must justify you and your ever-honoured son, that I never observed any of selfishness in you. I am confident God hath in store many blessings for you both. Oh, both join together in advancing this good work, in procuring maintenance for a learned and conscionable ministry. My

lord, I am bold to be importunate in this kind for an ignorant and sottish people; you are our sole knight of the shire; be active in yours, and you will conclude your latter days with much honour. I see many strive to advance themselves in their own ill days, but few will be seen to procure honest ministers, to be planted in your country: you have had your licence to promote this honourable work, I pray perfect it, which shall be the constant and fervent prayer of,

My lord,

Your humblest servant,

Jo. Bourchier.

York, this 16th April, 1647.

The army presented a petition to the House of Commons, asking for their arrears, and praying an indemnity for such actions as, illegal in time of peace, were unavoidable in the exigency of war, and for which some of the soldiers had been prosecuted at the assizes. This petition was very reasonable, but it gave great offence; upon which a second petition, signed by the officers under Fairfax's command, was sent into the Commons for the purpose of explaining away all grounds of misconception, and vindicating themselves from the imputation of defection or insubordination. A remarkable passage in this petition will show with how clear a sense of their rights, and with what admirable temper, under great wrongs and sufferings, the army sustained themselves through this trying crisis.

For our liberty of petitioning, we hope this honourable House will never deny it unto us; we know not anything

more essential to freedom, without grievances are remediless, and our condition most miserable. We have not denied it to your adversaries; you justified and commended it in your declaration of the 2nd Nov., 1642, in these words:—"It is the liberty and privilege of the people to petition unto us for the ease and redress of their grievances and oppressions, and we are bound in duty to receive their petitions." And we hope, *by being soldiers we have not lost the capacity of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interest in the Commonwealth; that in purchasing the freedoms of our brethren, we have not lost our own.*

Such was the spirit which the Commons themselves had generated. It was as ungenerous as it was unjust to rebuke its manifestation in any quarter, but especially in that body to whose fidelity, patience, and fortitude, the assertion and establishment of the liberties of the country were to be mainly ascribed. The wrong was rendered doubly galling by the recollection of the frank reception which had been given to sundry petitions from Essex and other officers of the old army, who had the satisfaction of obtaining immediate hearing even for their personal disputes. The New Model, conscious of its higher claims on the confidence and protection of Parliament, was consequently the more irritated by the jealousy and distrust with which this, its first petition, was treated. The following letters, from Sir Thomas Widdrington and Colonel White, indicate the feelings of the House on this matter, and contain references, also, to the progress of the war in Ireland:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE, AT DENTON, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I RECEIVED yours of the 14th instant; Mr. Anson was with me at the time when I received it, and assures me that Sir Edward Hussey hath made a bargain for his land, and is shortly to receive his money, and he further promised to let Colonel White or myself know a day or two before the moneys be paid into Goldsmiths' Hall; to the intent that Colonel White may be there ready to demand them. I hear the Castle of Dungarvan is taken by the Lord Inchiquin. I hear the House of Commons hath voted this afternoon that the train and ammunition at Oxford, be presently disposed of for Ireland, and that the general officers which went down to the army shall all return hither, except Major Gen. Skippon, who is to stay there: I know nor hear of any more done this afternoon, being absent. I waited upon the General this day, who is in a better condition of health than when you left him; and I hope will continue so if the matters of the army have not too much influence upon his spirits. The weather in this place continues as yet extreme moist. I wish you may enjoy quietness at Denton. I find not much of it here. There was this day a letter from the General Officers of the army, and a paper of the complaints of the army presented to the House; I cannot tell you the particulars. The aforementioned votes show how they were resented. I desire by this to present my duty to your lordship and my lady, and take leave to remain,

My lord, your lordship's humble servant,

TH. WIDDRINGTON.

Gray's Inn, the 13th of May, 1647.

I am troubled with a cold in my head, which operates upon my tooth and one of my eyes, and renders me unfit for writing; otherwise, I should have written by this post to my uncle Charles and my brother Arthington, and I shall be glad to serve Colonel Thornton, in the thing he desires, so far as shall fall within my power. The General is ordered by the House to go down to the army, which I hear is very quiet.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My noble Lord,

By your lordship's received the last night, I perceive that your lordship may receive letters and return answer by the same post, of which I am very glad.

This day Sir Richard Lucy telleth me that Mr. Spencer Lucy is come to town, and will some day this week pay his money. There is no news of Sir John Mounson yet at Goldsmiths' Hall, and I hear he is town; therefore, I desire your lordship's further direction, whether I shall not procure an order for the sequestration to be laid again upon his estate. In case of nonpayment speedily I do intend to send one of Goldsmiths' Hall messengers unto him to quicken him in the meantime. This day, by letters from my Lord Inchiquin, he informs the House, that he hath taken the town and Castle of Dungarvan, with two other castles from the rebels; that he is absolute master of the field in Munster; that the rebels generally want ammunition and money, by reason whereof they are not able to take the field with any considerable force; that they are not anywhere above 1500 men in one body, and that they are so

divided amongst themselves that they are not likely to do much hurt.

This day also came a letter from Major General Skippon, Lieutenant General Cromwell, and the rest sent into the army, that they had received the resolutions of the army to the propositions delivered by them from the Parliament, but thought not fit to send them but by some of themselves, which might withall declare some material circumstances; they or some of them are speedily to be here. I hope the army will prove obedient, as well as successful.

I hear they meddle not with anything but what concerns them as soldiers.

There are divers gentlemen in the House (whom your lordship may imagine), who are very desirous to have the army speedily disbanded, and upon a long debate this day it was resolved, that it be referred to the committee at Derby House, to consider of the time and manner of speedy disbanding all such forces as are not voted to be continued for service of this kingdom, or shall not engage for Ireland.

This evening we had read in the House a paper from the King, in answer to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, but gave little satisfaction. It came down in a message from the Lords, and it being six of the clock, the House ordered to take the message into consideration upon Thursday next.

For further relation of the proceedings, I shall refer your lordship to the Diurnal, and humbly presenting my own and my wife's most humble service to your lordship and your noble lady, take leave to remain,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

WILL. WHITE.

London, May 16th, 1647.

The 200,000*l.* will all be ready before Thursday night next.

On the 18th May, it was resolved by the House that, with the exception of certain garrisons, all the forces of the kingdom not subscribing for the service of Ireland (some of them having explicitly declined to do so until their arrears were discharged) should be disbanded, and that the General should forthwith repair to the army. The situation of Sir Thomas Fairfax, throughout these harassing discussions, was, in the last degree, painful and anxious. Even patient Rushworth declares, that were he General, he would not hold his command an hour longer.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

I must crave your pardon for my brevity. I hope Mr. Bowles will enlarge. Things are mighty uncertain, rather tending to a confusion than composing of differences. The General is commanded down to the army: one saying in the House he had time enough to go to Hyde Park, but not to attend his duty,—speaking it with much scorn. Truly, my lord, it is resolved upon the question that nothing but exasperation and provocation shall be used to enforce the army to disorder. And then the Presbyterians say they are necessitated to join with the King; and in order to this design, the King hath sent up to the Parliament his answer to the proposition to settle Presbytery for three years, the militia for ten years, and such like. A committee is appointed to consider of the King's answer. It is well for your lordship

to be absent; for it is in vain to be here. And were it not for the good of the kingdom, were I as the General, I would scorn to hold my command an hour longer; but truly his patience is great; and he wishes he had a fair opportunity to give over.

JNO. RUSHWORTH.

May 18th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL not say much of the business of this day, because I hope Rushworth hath given your lordship a full account of it. Nothing will be acceptable that comes from the army, but all things are hastened for a speedy disbanding of it. And I am ordered by the House forthwith to repair to the army, if my health will permit it. I think in a few days to go down to it (God willing). I still expect to have great difficulties put upon me; but I trust the Lord will bring me out of them. My health, God be thanked, is something better; but too soon relapses with a little trouble. I desire your lordship to pardon me for my shortness in writing, hoping you will have a fuller account otherway. So, desiring to present my service to my lady, and to have your prayers, I remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

London, May 18th, 1647.

Persons who had the best opportunities of forming a judgment as to the probable conduct of the army, when

the moment of dissolution came, entertained serious fears for the result, as may be seen in letters from Sir William Constable, Colonel Overton, and the Rev. Edward Bowles (already known to the reader), who was chaplain to the forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Sir William Constable declares that obedience is not to be expected from the soldiers, and Colonel Overton dimly foresees a remoter danger in the consequences of letting loose a mass of disappointed men, without provision, on the country. Happily these prognostications were disappointed by the result. Notwithstanding their grievances the soldiers were firm in their allegiance; and the appearance of the General at headquarters restored order and confidence.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON, THESE.

My Lord,

I received letters from Mr. Rushworth by this post, wherein he desires to be excused to your lordship for not writing, and entreats me to transmit to your lordship what I received, the substance of which is this, that the proceedings of the Parliament and City against the army are very violent. They have voted to send for their train of artillery to Oxford, to be bestowed for the service of Ireland, and to send commissioners to disband the army, with eight weeks' pay; and sent the General down on Thursday last. (I pray God direct him to avoid the snares are laid for him.)

The army have drawn up their grievances, and, for aught I hear, intend to present them; but are very doubtful what to do when the commissioners come to disband them. I pray God direct them for the best, rather than to suffer them to do ill. The King hath anticipated the propositions with an answer to the halves. The militia for ten years, and after that to be disposed as in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The Presbytery for three years, of which, he says, he thinks they will be weary in that time: provided he may enjoy his liberty in his own chapel: that he may send twenty divines to the Assembly to consider of a Church government: to pass acts for the Parliament's debts, including his own: confirming acts of the new Great Seal, so that they confirm the old: an Act of Oblivion for all delinquencies. I doubt not but your lordship hath these advertisements from other hands; but I could not neglect the trust reposed in me, much less my duty to your lordship, which I shall personally tender as soon as possibly I may, which I hope will be this day se'nnight. In the meantime I am, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

EDW. BOWLES.

York, May 22nd, 1647.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON, PRESENT THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE, and still shall continue to scribble unto you, every post. Having this opportunity of Mr. Jo. Wentworth, I send the news which passed last day in the House —a day of as great harmony as I have seen of late. The General went to Saffron Walden upon Thursday last.

This gentleman tells me that he hath occasion to wait upon you at Denton, and desires your favour in a business between Colonel Bethell and himself, wherein he thinks the justice of his business will be a sufficient inducement to your lordship to mediate for, and the Colonel to condescend to his desires. I have many years known this gentleman, and the goodness of his disposition, which emboldens me to insert this much of business in this letter, of which I know you desire to be free at Denton. I have no more to add, but my duty to your lordship and my lady, and remain, my lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

THOS. WIDDRINGTON.

Gray's Inn, May 23rd, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE, DENTON, HUMBLY PRESENT.

MY LORD,

I DIRECTED a letter to your lordship in your journey, by the post, who, I presumed, would overtake you. If that came not to your hands, I lost only my own excuse, and presenting you with such passages as were then fresh. I missed very narrowly your taking horse, and by that means received not any particular commands from your lordship, which shall be very carefully observed on the least intimation from you. Your getting well to Denton was the best news I could expect from thence; and if I could give a good account of our getting well off from our disputes here with the army, it were more desirable news than I am as yet furnished for. On Friday, our last day of sitting, there was much joy in the House, at the fair accord that seemed to be

for some hours, upon the report which Lieutenant General Cromwell made from the army, divers things being voted, besides an ordinance, that day passing both Houses, for indemnity for things done through the necessity of the war; consideration had for securing the remainder of arrears, and freeing all such as had served as volunteers from being pressed for the service of Ireland, with some other fair things; but one small thing being moved and denied, which was a declaration that we parted with them as friends, being satisfied of their good affection to the Parliament, this drew out some sharp expressions, turned our fair day into a storm, the House rising in the midst of the heat, and the debate deferred till Tuesday, our next day of sitting. My lord, thus far I had gone yesterday. This day the debate about giving satisfaction to the army by some vindication of them being laid aside by vote, the time of disbanding all the foot was voted severally for every regiment,—beginning with the General's regiment, at Chelmsford, this day se'nnight, and so proceeding with the rest at their several quarters, at several days, which will end about the 15th of June. I do not think that it is expected by any that obedience will be yielded by the soldiers, the provocations being so resented and grown to such an height; I fear we shall too soon see the issue, which God prevent.

I will trouble your lordship no further, but desire to have my uncivil parting with my lady excused, who remain,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Wm. Constable.

Queen Street, May 24th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON HOUSE, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

My Lord,

I CONTINUED my present station in this place in hope of a happy and fair discharge of that trust, which hitherto I can comfortably account for, your lordship's honoured conferrings in that and all my other undertakings under you, and unfeignedly spoke myself as much your honour's, in your humble close, as the greatest beginnings under your lordship, and live as thankfully as I have acted faithfully, in your most noble intrustments. I cannot add to those constant relations which weekly come to your lordship from abler pens, only amongst others I offer my mite of observance. I see, methinks, a contention, in crossing betwixt the long robe and the short; the one upon the interests of the States' trust, and the other for the price of blood, the honour of his arms, and the indemnity of his person. I trust piety and public respect will, on both parts, prevent and persuade; I wish the variety of opinions and capricious parties multiply not old diseases beyond state remedies; we might hereby become rather a land of promise than of peace. The City's petition was lately burnt for some supposed seditious overtures. The soldiers' grievances are come in, and moneys raised for the cure; yet, if too much public faith intermix the ingredient, I doubt disbanding may lose its common Catholic virtue. Reduction to an army is the most odious part of arithmetic, nor can it be gotten of an anti-liberal, which is so scant and pinching. Methinks it is hard to exchange our erst honourable employment into lazy begging by ineffectual petitioning; but I can add little more offer to your lordship than what every Diurnal delivers. I shall

ever, to my utmost, rest ready to discharge what I owe. I trust your lordship is in my overtures more apt to put forth a pardon than to impute blame. The good of the garrison in its condition will, I know, in the promotion of your honour's interest for its good or my own, not want a favourable influence, suitable to its necessitous condition in their pay, or my own employment. I shall not further insist on circumstances, having sufficiently blotted this paper. To avoid any farther prolixity or disorder, I shall only add that I am,

Your lordship's devoted servant,

ROBT. OVERTON.

London, 25th May, 1647.

The announcement of what had been done by Parliament was unsatisfactory to the army. The amount of pay to be distributed was pitiful—the amnesty was not sufficiently comprehensive. There was a mutual disposition apparent nevertheless to adjust these difficulties. The army was fortified by right and reason, and Parliament could not fail at last to see the justice of admitting its claims. Sir Thomas Fairfax stood between them, assuaging the storm at both sides, and controlling his explosive materials with great prudence and ability.

While these negociations, in the shape of rendezvous, petitions, and counter-petitions, were going forward, the King was filling up his leisure with bowls and secret correspondence at Holmby, and the nation, engrossed by the new questions, and believing his Majesty to be quite safe, almost forgot that such a person existed. But the army was not so indifferent. It saw clearly

that the custody of the royal prisoner gave the vantage ground to Parliament in the pending arbitration; and a desire to get possession of the King began to spread amongst the troops. That such was the feeling of the army cannot be doubted, although it was carried into operation not by an organised movement, but by an isolated adventure. One Cornet Joyce, taking upon himself to represent the general desire, sallied out of Oxford at the head of 500 troopers, made direct for Holmby, and taking possession of his Majesty's person, with his Majesty's consent, carried him off. Upon intelligence of this extraordinary action, which threw the whole kingdom, more especially the Parliament and city, into consternation, Sir Thomas Fairfax offered to deliver his Majesty from the custody of Joyce, but his Majesty declined. He thought he was better where he was; that new distractions would spring out of this strange incident; and that he might ultimately profit by the confusion. And so we leave him for the present at Newcastle, playing at tennis, and discoursing with Cornet Joyce and Hugh Peters, the latter endeavouring in vain to prevail upon his Majesty to let him preach before him.

The Parliament men, such as Hollis, Stapleton, and Clotworthy, designated as "incendiaries" in the next letter by Rushworth, were the prime movers in the votes and measures which had given umbrage to the soldiers. They had most of them belonged to the old army under Essex and Manchester, and regarded the New Model

with the most rancorous hostility. The Stapleton here alluded to was Sir Philip Stapleton, member for Boroughbridge, to be distinguished from another Stapleton who was member for Aldborough, and from the William Stapleton who attended Charles II. in exile, and was created a baronet after the Restoration. There was a third Stapleton who was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Charles I.; and a fourth who was private chaplain to Cromwell. Sir John Clotworthy was member for Malden.

The proceedings arising out of the abduction, or, rather, the elopement of the King, may be traced through the following letters. The army, having possession of the King, moved nearer to London, and gave a firmer and more distinct expression to their demands. They openly charged the disaffected members with the evil machinations which had wrought this disastrous difference, and demanded their dismissal, declaring at the same time their resolution in no way to meddle with the settlement of religion, and requiring that the Parliament should carry out its own principle of free representation through successive Parliaments, so that "men might not sit perpetual judges over their fellow-subjects." The dignity and moderation of the army throughout this dangerous crisis cannot be too deeply appreciated. By their motions about London they displayed their power without abusing it, and prevented disturbance by exhibiting the means of suppression. If on any point, they exceeded their legitimate province, it was in stipulating for the security of the

King's rights and prerogative and the succession of his family. Such grave questions did not lie properly at the disposal of the iron hand of the executive. But the purpose of the army was the settlement of the kingdom, and the restoration of peace, and some latitude may be allowed to the wide discretion with which circumstances had invested them.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE, POST-HASTE.

My Lord,

I beg pardon for my haste: the King is now at Newmarket, well guarded more than regarded. Businesses grow high. I hope God will bring much good to the kingdom by it, and a sudden peace. If they had had the King, I mean Hollis and Stapleton, &c., the Scots had come in to have crushed this army. The Lord direct the General and the army; tomorrow we have a rendezvous near Royston. Sir Henry Vane, jun. and others come down to-day to satisfy the army. This enclosed letter from the General to the House will satisfy your lordship. The army hath honest intentions, none need fear them but such as Hollis, Stapleton, Clotworthy, and such incendiaries. No doubt the Scotch will come in yet, if they think to find no opposition in the north; other friends there had need bestir themselves.

I think business here will be brought to a sudden push in one week, you will see a way agreed on to compose all in love. My humble service to your good lady,

John Rushworth.

Cambridge, June 9th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, THESE.

My Lord,

Considering my own duty, and your lordship's solicitude about the affairs which are in transaction above, I could not but give you a short account of the news I received. And first, in general, I have very good hopes that upon the whole matter, there is little danger; but that if God give them wisdom to manage their business it may produce very good effects in the Parliament and kingdom, which were going on in the high way to a worse confusion. The business is very strongly laid in the army, and the Parliament and city are very backward to raise new forces, notwithstanding the earnest endeavours to that end, especially by the Scots who are very much moved at the Parliament being no more moved with the securing the King; and have made an offer of aid for his rescue; but sure we shall beware the third time. The army have resigned themselves in all business to the hands of their superior officers—and the General and Lieutenant-general appear in the regulating things among them. And they have given ground to the General to declare that they intend not at all to interest themselves in matters of religion, either in opposing Presbytery, or effecting liberty of religions, but that they will submit in those things, which is very well. They intend to hold the King only in safe custody, so that he do no harm, and I think the malignants, notwithstanding all their hopes, will have a hard bargain of his being there. The Parliament have sent down commissioners to treat with them, as Sir Henry Vane, jun., Mr. Scowen, Major General Skippon, and one Mr. Povey; pray God give them wisdom on both sides so to order their desires and grants as the

public good may be most advantaged. We shall very shortly hear of their propositions. And truly it may be hoped that this appearance of trouble may more hasten our peace than the many overtures of peace elsewhere. But things are not so secure but that it will be very necessary to look up earnestly to God, who fashioneth the hearts of men, to order things by his infinite wisdom to the public good. To him I commend your lordship, your family and affairs, and am

Your lordship's humble servant,

EDW. BOWLES.

York, June 12th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

SATURDAY last, the General and part of his army came to St. Albans. The Parliament and City were much affrighted at it. The Parliament upon it revoked the power of the Committee of Safety, newly made, that they should act nothing but as the House was acquainted with it. The Common Council were much offended at the Committee of the Militia for offering to beat up drums, and to require the shutting up of the shops for fear of this army, which they never feared or distrusted, and wrote a civil letter unto the General, expressing much averseness to raise any forces in the least measure against this army, and sent four aldermen and eight common-councilmen to the General, to St. Albans, who accordingly came thither, upon Monday morning, and received infinite satisfaction of the reality of the army towards the City, as intending them no hurt. And for their fuller satisfaction, yesterday, June 14th, (that day that Naseby battle was fought), the General and his Council of

War finished the representation of the General and the army, concerning the bottom of their desires, in relation to the King, Parliament, and kingdom, which is very long, but set forth with much reason and arguments to strengthen the same. It will be put in print to-morrow, but will hardly come down by the post. I shall only hint briefly, because my time is short. The particulars are—

1. That those members of Parliament who have incensed the Parliament against the army, and would have begot a new war, may not sit any longer as judges over us, and that if the House will give leave, their names shall be made known, and particularly charges against members delivered in; and, accordingly, the persons were named,—Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, [Sir William] Waller, Massey, and some others.

2. It is desired that the Parliament will consider of a time when they will put an end to the Parliament, first settling the peace of the kingdoms and those other things in order to it; and that there may be Parliaments successively, whereby men may not sit perpetual judges over their fellow-subjects.

3. It is declared that the army will no ways hinder the settling of the Presbytery, desiring regard may be had to tender consciences, according to the Parliament's declarations.

4. That when the King hath settled the militia and those other things relating to the peace of the kingdom, that he and his posterity may have his just rights and prerogative.

And lastly, that the free-born subjects of England may not be debarred the liberty of petitioning.

There are very few particulars more besides these; and it is expressed in the Representation that in these we do acquiesce, though these be not all we might desire, but will

trust this Parliament and future Parliaments for the better satisfaction of it. The Parliament would have us forty miles from London, the City thirty miles; but till we have assurance that no forces shall be raised, either by Parliament or City, we cannot with safety think of going back. Stapleton and Hollis court the Reformadoes to lay a foundation of an army, which is a thing odious to the City, who plainly see their danger to be greater, even of a massacre by those intended to be raised by that party, than of any fear if our army were all in the City.

I am so over-toiled with business, I cannot write much, but shall, by an express, send more to your lordship.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

St. Albans, June 15th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE, THESE PRESENT.

THE representation of the army in print, I suppose, is now public in the North; the agitators of horse have undertaken to disperse them in those parts; it gives great satisfaction in all these parts of the kingdom. The charge against the members takes not so well; it is held too slight; the privilege of Parliament is so tender a thing that they will not suspend a member on a general charge; for more than suspension is not desired. The particular charge will be speedily ready and against some of them to the purpose. But time will not admit of this dilatory proceeding; and therefore expedition will be used in a more general way, in order to a permanent settlement of the peace of the kingdom, which will be pressed to be done without delay before foreign forces or Scots come in; and therefore, if in the next

you hear the army is gone to court ladies in Hyde Park, think it not strange, neither wonder that on Thursday next Colonel Whaley attends the King with a strong guard to Richmond, where I believe more forces will be about that time. But that suits not with the votes of both Houses, that only Colonel Rossiter's regiment shall be there for a guard; for, believe it, I perceive the army will not part with the King without a peace settled. Great is the fear at London at the army's approach; but it is chiefly of those who have so provoked the army, and been unthankful to it, which (under God) was their deliverance. The Committee of Common Council are here; the correspondency is very fair between the city and army.

The army votes nothing, nor sends the Parliament anything, without communicating it to the city; truth is, the city more fears the Reformers within than the army without. The Parliament was yesterday again kept in by force by their blades till they had more money granted them. The Parliament is not free; nothing will set it free (it was conceived) but the army. An adjournment is threatened; God guide their counsels; a week is like to produce great change; let all honest men in all parts of the kingdom be united, and prevent any that shall endeavour to raise new forces to beget a new war.

Sir,

Your servant,

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

St. Albans, June 22nd, 1647.

The General is well, and hopes of good upon this business.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Out of the respect I owe your Excellency, I thought it convenient to give you notice that there are several gentlemen pretending dependence of your army, as also authority from yourself though not produced to the satisfaction of officers, who have appointed private rendezvous, so far to the disturbance of the forces as the Parliament has taken notice of them, and have sent me a note of the House to apprehend such who shall come hither to disturb their forces in this Association, the which I have taken course to publish; all which I have here communicated to your Excellency, desiring a favourable construction to what I do, in order to their present commands. I shall take a return to these from your Excellency as an addition to the former civility, which have obliged me to subscribe myself

Sydenham Poyntz.

June 25th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, THESE PRESENT.

Right Honourable,

I have not omitted one post, but have writ unto your lordship by the way of Leeds; but doubting they miscarry that way, I shall hardly adventure, unless I hear they come safe to your hands; for affairs here, I hope things will come to a speedy and happy composure. Upon the armies coming into Uxbridge, the members withdrew, upon their own motion; and both Houses have voted and enabled their committee to treat and debate things with the army, which

are mentioned in the army's representation and papers. The City is very fair to us, and have a standing committee in the army to keep a good correspondence between the City and the army. They and all good men much confide in the General, and hope for a good conclusion, but fear the disobedience of the soldiers, which truly, I think, need not. The General hath had sore conflicts in this business, and indeed he hath a hard game to play, in managing a matter so much out of method and rule; and I hope the Lord, in conclusion, will let all men see that not by ends exceeding him, or most under him, to be (as it were) in a condition of disobedience to the Parliament. It is but in relation to the ill party, whom your lordship knows what malice they have vented against Him and the army. Parliament must be upheld: abuses in it fit to be reformed. This is all I shall trouble your lordship with at present, and remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Uxbridge, June 27th, 1647, 12 *at night.*

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I HAVE communicated your letter, the ordinances and votes you sent me to my officers, and they have made them known to most of their respective troops and companies; but there is such a distemper in several of their regiments as that we find no authority or power we have, will recall them to their former obedience. Their main desire is to associate their forces with his Excellency's army, resolving to stand or fall with them: in this their instant request to his purpose, they have selected two out of every assenting troop or com-

pany who now reside at Pontefract, advising and acting with some come from the southern army what they think fit in pursuance of their aforesaid end. This day, five of their number, upon my engagement for their safe return, which I was willing to do both the better to know their intentions; and because the Council of War did conceive it to be of dangerous consequence to apprehend them; now did present to the Council of War a declaration which they demanded to be immediately subscribed by some of the colonels present, or to receive their negative answer, upon which it was then resolved by the Council of War, whose advice therein was requested by the said colonels, they should suspend their answer till the return of the gents.

I lately sent to his Excellency to inform him of the men come hither from his Excellency's army, pretending by his authority; and of the vote directed to me to apprehend such as come hither to disturb this army. What the issue of these things will be I know not; I shall humbly desire the directions of the House herein, and in all things to my utmost power shall be ready to manifest my fidelity to the Parliament, and approve myself

Your most humble servant,

SYDENHAM POYNTZ.

July 2nd, 1647.

P.S. Sir,—Our forces here have observed, that they have ever waited long for whatsoever moneys the House hath ordered them; and perhaps fear the like now, his Excellency's army having received theirs. If that 10,000*l.* lately ordered could be presently procured, it might be a probable expedient to satisfy the soldiers in this distraction; therefore, my humble request is, you would be pleased to contribute your assistance for that purpose, and it shall add to my former engagements.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVING some occasion to send a messenger near Denton, made bold thereby to present my most humble service to your lordship and my lady; and to give you to understand how all things pass here, and what we have heard from his Excellency's army, viz.,—Captain Clayton returned to York yesterday, about eight of the clock in the forenoon, with an answer from his Excellency (to this inclosed, dated June 25th, 1647). To this effect his Excellency writ: That if any officers or soldiers were come from his army into the Northern army, and laboured to inform this army of the fair carriage of his, and that such demands as were desired were just, and the reports cast upon himself and his army in disobeying ordinance of Parliament were untrue; said he had sent none such: but if any such were come from his army, and had endeavoured to satisfy any of the truths aforesaid, he and the forces under him would countenance and protect such good instruments, and those that adhere to them. So that Poyntz is hereby satisfied, and intends (after a consultation he had with old Ferns) he and his whole family to-morrow se'nnight for London, that he may give up his commission, by reason he cannot have any command in the North, save of Colonel Ledgard, Captain O'Neale, Captain Blacker, and some few more inconsiderable persons, as the Marshall-General and such like fellows.

Your lordship will further perceive what doings were at the Council of War, on Friday last, by this other inclosed, which was before Clayton came back with an answer. The letter is

sent to the House. I wish it make no alteration of Poyntz's journey. If Clayton had done his message faithfully, it had prevented this letter to the House. He got to his Excellency on Monday last, by twelve o'clock, and was dispatched on Tuesday for coming back; but whether he had some message from Poyntz to some of the members questioned yea or no, I know not; but for the nearest way for Yorkshire he went to London, and so got not York before Saturday.

He takes care how to pass clear from the soldiers: they are much enraged against him, about these two he caused to be executed, neither calling a council of war upon them, nor affording them time to prepare for death. All his creatures have forsaken him, but such as are extraordinary ill-conditioned. I think I know them every one. I sent by the last post the copy of the letter (to the House) to his Excellency. Not to trouble your lordship any further at present; but as occasion offers itself you shall hear further from him who is, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ROBT. HOLBORNE.

York, July 4th, 1647.

It was five of those they call agitators came from Pontefract last Friday, and in the time the Council of War sat at Poyntz's house, they desired admittance, and after long debate with him and the officers, were then admitted; and their message was, first an engagement of so many troops and companies to the southern army; then they headed an engagement and declaration for Colonel Bethnell and Colonel Copley to subscribe and demand their hands thereto, and to repair to their regiments, or otherwise to take their answer. Ledgard would gladly had some advantage against them, or the army in the North, if he could, but they were dismissed;

and though neither Colonel signed them, I hear the officers have all subscribed since, or most of them. Sir William Constable went from York yesterday, about twelve o'clock, for Bewley, and so to Hull. He will be at York next Friday.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, THESE.

Since my last there hath little of note happened; only on Friday last the treaty began at Wickham, where things were debated by the Lords, Commons, and the Commissioners of the Army, which was rather to prepare the method of the treaty than to agree of any matter of substance at that time. On Saturday the head-quarters removed to Reading, and the King, being then at Windsor, removed to Cavesham, the Lord Craven's house, within two miles of Reading. Monday there was but little time spent in the treaty, by reason the officers were engaged in finishing the charge against the members; and this day it was presented to the House by four colonels, a mayor, two lieutenant-colonels, four captains, and two soldiers in behalf of the general and the whole army. There being so many persons impeached, and requiring therefore variety of matter, were necessitated to the spinning out of so much time till now for the delivery of it in, when yet a power is reserved for adding more articles at any time before the trial, and to have a trial speedily cannot be expected, unless it be upon one or two of the principles; for then it will protract the great business of the kingdom, which will admit of no delay, for expedition is the life of our business, and be assured not an hour's time will be lost in concluding upon those things which are for the present settlement of the peace of the

kingdom. The King's party carry themselves very high and insolent, as conceiving the army acts their game; whereas they have little cause to think it; for so far forth as anything is fitting to be desired on their behalf for the more securing the peace of the kingdom, something will be offered, but as in relation to set them up in their authority again, they may have little hopes; for certainly the army will never desert the interest of the Parliament, and honest people of England that have adhered to them. Notwithstanding if the King grant what is desired for the security of the kingdom, as settling the militia by sea and land in trusty hands, and those other things that shall be agreed to by the Parliament, that then the Parliament grant him what may appertain to his right. There is a continuance for the present of two of the King's chaplains to be with him. The head-quarters is to be continued at Reading, till such time as things be settled. The eleven members were called into the House to hear the reading of the charge, who, after the reading thereof, set a good face on the businesses, hoping to clear themselves.

J. Rushworth.

London, July 6th, 1647.

The General is well, but much perplexed with business; the burden of the kingdom lies upon him.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

May it please your Lordship,

The treaty hath had no progress since Wednesday last, at which time the general and officers made three proposals: first, against reformado officers staying in London; secondly, against new levying and listing of men in and

about London; thirdly, for purging the House of delinquent members; and until they have satisfaction in these things, they said that they could not safely proceed in the treaty: since which time the House hath done several things which I hope may give satisfaction in all these three particulars. We are now told that the heads of the treaty are in a very good preparation and forwardness, and hope to see all or most of them in one bulk or body at the same time, which sight will be far less discouragement than doing nothing. Dispatch and expedition herein, as they are the common desires of most people, so they are things professed by all parties here to be extremely laboured for, and for my part I see no instant ground to believe or suspect otherwise. It must be confessed that the business is weighty, and consists of many particulars already visible out of their papers, which must necessarily require much time, as well in the preparation and proposal, as in the debate and resolution. We hope to begin again upon the treaty this day or tomorrow, which hath now had so long a parenthesis of stay. The Prince Elector dined with the general on Saturday last, and the French ambassador gave him a visit in the afternoon.

This all for the present: with my duty to your lordship and my lady,

My lord, your lordship's humble servant,

THO. WIDDRINGTON.

From Reading, July 12th, 1647.

I beseech your lordship's pardon for using my man's hand in writing some part of this.

FOR THE RIGHT HON. FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX.

SINCE my last upon this day se'nnight, there hath not been that expedition in relation to the treaty as was hoped for in my last, the reason is, because those things desired by the army in order to our security before we engage to proceed upon the treaty, are not fully granted; but since, there is just cause of fears and jealousies, that if we should engage in the treaty, there would be an obstruction (our former desires being not granted), as for instance: The Houses have not yet declared against the calling in of foreign forces; they have not yet by vote of the House, suspended those members that have been lately impeached; without which no proposition can be agreed upon by the Committees of the Parliament and the Army in order to a peace; but if those men come in they may protract if not prevail to cause a denial of what is propounded: besides the ordinance which they have put forth to purge the city of reformadoes, is not effectual, for that any fewer of the militia may grant leave for any one that shall allege they have a necessary occasion to stay, and so any fewer of those of the militia who granted a commission to D'Albiere to raise forces against this army, may with much disposition of mind, grant leave for such reformadoes to stay as may be serviceable to their ends.

The greatest satisfaction the House hath given this last week, hath been in declaring the penalty upon such members who have aided or assisted the King, or sued for, or accepted pardons from the King. This indeed is like to produce a good effect, for many of the western gentlemen, as namely, Sir Samuel R., Sir John B., &c., are conceived to come within that compass, and near thirty more for accepting of pardons from the King.

Sir Charles Egerton and others, are like to withdraw upon another account. Mr. Ant. Nicholl had a report made concerning his election, and it is voted clear illegal, having sat six years without just warrant: do not conceive, that the army protracts the treaty, or delays time for any end, for whilst they have been thus labouring for satisfaction from the Parliament in the aforesaid particulars, they have not omitted to prepare the foundation of a treaty, or rather a whole map of every particular to be treated upon, which being now finished, tomorrow will pass a council of war, then the Committees will have the whole business before them. The particulars are many (as well they may be), considering it contains the settlement of all things in order to the peace of the Kingdom.

The Prince Elector coming to see the King, came on Saturday last and dined with the general, showing great respect unto him, and the general answered it with discharging twenty-two pieces of cannon at his going away. In the afternoon, the French ambassador who had been with the King, came to the General and gave him a visit as the General had done to him in the forenoon. I presume you have a great noise of a resort of cavaliers to the court at Cavesham. It is true they came, both Scottish and English; some have access, others not; but I hope all our friends will not alter their opinion of this army.

Notwithstanding this their resort, that they will ever desert the Parliament, or the honest party of England, that ever adhered to them, there is nothing showed them but civility; and that is done with as much caution as may be; except now and then an extravagant person demeans himself so ill as he deserves to be made incapable of that favour.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Reading, July 13th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

THURSDAY, July 15th, the officers met about the materials of a treaty, and sat all day long about it; made a great progress therein. Debates were had whether it were fit to present to the world the substance of the treaty, before we were secured of the militia of London and kingdom to be safe and confiding hands.

Friday, July 16th, a general council of war called, consisting of about 100 officers besides agitators. The debate held till almost twelve at night. There were variety of opinions, and all concurred in one at conclusion. The agitators were higher in proposals than the officers, who were more expert in State affairs. I only mention this, that you may be assured the inferior, upon good reasons, submitted to the superior, so that it is not will but reason that guides the proceedings of the army. The result, in brief, was to desire that the militia of London might be put in the same hands it was before the late alteration thereof: this being a principal reason, that those that had it formerly were men of unparalleled fidelity and integrity, and as to the army, more to be confided in than the new. The second desire was, the Parliament would declare against the invasion of foreign forces. Third, that prisoners (except for debt, murder, &c.) might be set at liberty, if no proof against them, or otherwise released upon bail, and particularly Messrs Lilburn, Musgrave, Overton, &c. The fourth was, that the Committee of Weavers' Hall may be called to account how they have issued out 200,000*l.*, not above 40,000*l.* of it having come to this army. In the inquisition whereof it is supposed the power of the new Committee of State will appear to have

been very diligent for their own advantage, though their power held out not above ten days.

The names of many of that new committee you may know, if you have heard of the names of the eleven new members. Whilst the army was thus in debate of the militia of the City, the House was in debate of the militia of the kingdom, and voted the General Commander-in-chief of all the land forces in England; and this day the Lords concurred therein, which, being effected, the General will thereby be enabled presently to order all the forces in the field and garrisons, so as it is hoped they will be in such a posture, and so well ordered as to interrupt any insurrection that shall be attempted in any part of the kingdom, in case of non-concurrence in the treaty now in hand, and which we hope very shortly will be at an end. Our debates were interrupted by the appearance of Colonel-General Poyntz and his agitators, who mutually accused each other; but the Colonel-General seemed the more humble of the two. He is at liberty on his parole. The charge is brought in against him, yet it is conceived the prejudice will not be great if he go where he list. Upon the neck of this comes the news that Colonel Birch's agitators do tread the steps of the Northern, and seized upon the Colonel and his brother the Major, and (to boot) the Castle of Hereford and 2000*l.* in it, besides clothes, shoes, and other provisions; upon this ground, that the Colonel and Major declared against permitting the soldiery to associate with this army. Upon the Colonel's fair language his soldiers gave him his liberty, upon his word not to engage against the army. The Major, castle, and money they keep. Captain D'oyly being long since voted to be governor of Bristol, (but not agreed to by both Houses), got a commission dormant, under the hands of Stapleton, Holles, &c.,

came down to Bristol this last week, and demanded the fort and castle. Captain Sampson demanded the sight of his commission. He produced it unto him. When he saw the names of Holles, Stapleton, Waller, Lewis, Clotworthy, Massey were at it, he told Captain D'oyly his commission was signed by those that were impeached by an army that had persevered in their fidelity to the public, which those members had not, and therefore he was resolved to disobey his commission, and live and die with the army; and so the new intended Governor was dismissed.

We remove the head-quarters to Bedford.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Reading, July 20th, 1647.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

HOPING still Rushworth doth supply my defect in writing, I make bold to omit that duty sometimes longer than I should do, though desirous that neither my many businesses nor personal infirmity should make me forget it. Our treaty will, I hope, speedily have an end, being now almost ready to be sent to the House; but it is necessary, before the grounds of peace be laid down before them, some principal blocks be removed out of the way; therefore, this day we desired the Commissioners of Parliament to send a paper from us to the House, in which we desire they will declare against the bringing into this kingdom any foreign force whatsoever; that the militia of London may be put into their hands that did formerly manage it; with some other propositions, which, being first granted, may, through God's

blessing, give a more sure and happy conclusion to our proposals of peace. Indeed, in so great a work man can only propose, but God dispose how it shall be. We have seen much of his goodness in inclining things that way of late. Many turbulent spirits are yet in the city and army, but I hope their fury shall not prevail; and though some men's proceedings in this army have given some cause of jealousy, yet I trust, through God's assistance, we shall discern what is good, and not to be led along with the multitude to do evil. Colonel Lambart is coming down into the North to endeavour the settling of those forces, with some direction for that business; if such commanders be put over them as do tender the public peace, and not interested otherwise, will be a good work. In three or four days we shall remove our quarters from hence—the plague hath broken out in three houses in Reading; but where we shall have our next headquarters is not certainly resolved. Oxford is thought on; but I shall not desire to have the Court so near as it is now; it brings a great number of cavaliers amongst us, which brings rather an ill name than danger upon us. I shall leave your lordship to other relations; so pray your blessing and my humble service to my lady. I remain

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

T. Fairfax.

Reading, July 18th, 1647.

My wife and Moll present their humble duty to your lordship, and their service to my lady.

The "agitators" alluded to in the letters of Colonel Holborne and Rushworth were men deputed by the common soldiery to represent their opinions, acting in

some sort as commissioners between them and their officers, and appearing even at the bar of the House of Commons to give an account of the business with which they were entrusted. The conduct of these men was distinguished throughout by courage and integrity; and Rushworth, who would gladly have dispensed with their assistance at the council, bears testimony to the propriety of their bearing.

It will be seen in these letters that the Prince Elector dined in high pomp with the Parliamentary General. The conduct of the Prince (to which allusion has been already made*) at this memorable period appears to justify the suspicion that he entertained the hope of succeeding to that throne from which the pressure of events was now not unlikely to precipitate his uncle. Mr. Forster, in his able life of Cromwell, collects the scanty evidence upon which this suspicion is founded, and strengthens it by some very curious letters from the Prince to his mother, the beautiful Queen of Bohemia, which clearly show that even so far back as 1641 "the Prince was playing a double game between the Court and the people's party."† The whole course of his proceedings evinced that at least he was ready to take advantage of circumstances, and attach himself to the stronger side. After having attended his Majesty to York, and kept with him so long as it was safe, he deserted him at the breaking out of hostilities, and took ship for Holland. He soon afterwards returned to

* Page 101. † The Statesmen of the Commonwealth, IV., 73.

England, and while his brothers, faithful at all events to their cause, were fighting for the King, he paid assiduous court to the Parliament, procured a grant for the restitution of the pension which had formerly been bestowed upon him by the King, and became more and more bound up with the popular party as the King's affairs were drawing nearer to their tragical close. In one of his letters to his mother, dated in the November of the present year, he describes an interview he had just had with the King at Hampton Court, during which his Majesty reproached him for his subserviency to the Parliament, making use of these remarkable expressions, "I should rather have lived upon bread and water than have complied with the Parliament, which he (the King) said I did to have only one chicken more in my dish, and that *he would have thought it a design more worthy his nephew, if he had gone about to have taken his crown from his head.*" * That the Prince really contemplated such a turn of fortune, seems by no means improbable. All circumstances concur in giving a colour of likelihood to the supposition. But he acted with too much caution to risk more attainable aims upon the failure of that ambitious design, and, missing the crown of England, he succeeded in procuring his restoration to the Palatinate ; which, luckily for himself, called him out of the country in 1648.

Dismissing the adventuring Elector to his foreign government, we return to our domestic affairs.

* The Statesmen of the Commonwealth, IV., 80.

The explicit declarations of the army had the effect of inspiring the Parliament with confidence, and of removing all difficulty in the way of restoring a perfect harmony between them. It was not for the Parliament whose energy and wisdom had averted the ruin of public liberty, and this army, whose allegiance had been proved by the severest tests, to separate at such a moment. There was a common enemy, in the party felicitously designated the "Malignants," yet to be overcome, and their united power was necessary to its suppression. If the troops of Fairfax surrounding London, like the magic ring in the fairy tale, tightened or relaxed their circle according to circumstances, making a sudden pressure only when the evil conscience of the city was at work, there was no design in such movements to alarm or intimidate the Parliament. On the contrary, the close neighbourhood of the troops was the only guarantee by which the free deliberations of the legislature could have been secured through this perilous juncture.

In consideration of the time that would necessarily be consumed in the investigation of the charges against the eleven "incendiary" members—time which could ill be spared from the general concerns of the kingdom—Fairfax, on the part of the army, declared that he would be content with their absence from the House while the proceedings for the settlement of the public affairs were going forward; and the Commons, in accordance with this desire, passed a resolution on the

20th July, giving "leave" to Holles and the rest to "go about their particular business" for the space of six months, with permission to go beyond the seas, provided they returned at the end of that time to answer the accusation brought against them. There was a great tumult in the lobbies while this resolution was passing, and a multitude of people thronged on the stairs and blocked up the doors; but the Parliament stood firm to their purpose.

The news of this resolution no sooner spread through the City, than it produced a terrible commotion amongst the apprentices—the central source of all London riot and disaffection. On the 26th the fury of the hot-brained youth of the guilds made itself manifest in the avenues of both Houses of Parliament. Vast crowds assembled, and petitions were forced upon the Lords and Commons, demanding the restoration of the eleven members, and of the City militia, and demanding that the King should be brought to London. We have the first glimpse of this violent proceeding in letters from Sir Thomas Widdrington, and Lady Constable, the sister of Lord Fairfax.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON, PRESENT THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

COLONEL WHYTE, being absent from hence, acquainted me by writing with the contents of your last letter to him, of the several particulars wherein I shall give you

this small account. For Mr. Spenser Lucy's moneys, they are in town in a safe hand, and will so remain till he return into the country, and then care will be taken of the payment of what belongs to you. This I had from Sir Richard Lucy, who promised me also to write to Sir John Mounson concerning his moneys. I have also spoken with Mr. Anson, who tells me that Sir Edward Hussey and his lady are still in town. They had agreed for the sale of some lands, but the purchaser makes some scruples, so the bargain not perfected, and no moneys gotten; nor, I doubt, will be this long time.

For news, we are still troubled with fears. There has of late appeared a new oath and confederacy, the substance of which is to bring the King to his Parliament upon such terms as he offers in his answer made the 12th of May last to the propositions sent to the King at Newcastle. The army hath great apprehensions upon this. [The business is not so well allayed as I imagined; for I hear that divers apprentices and others are gone to the House this day to present a petition to this purpose; and there is another petition from the Common Council against the charging of the militia. It is hoped that both these will be quietly settled.]* But the Houses have already in great measure allayed the business. The last militia of the City of London is changed, and a declaration made by both Houses against the inviting in of any foreign forces. I desire by this to present my duty to your lordship and my lady, and take leave to remain,

My lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

THOS. WIDDRINGTON.

Gray's Inn, 26th July, 1647.

* This interlineation in the original letter is evidently out of place, and should follow the succeeding sentence.

I am going this morning to Bedford, where the head-quarters and the Commissioners for Parliament are.

My lord, having some occasions to stay longer here this day than I intended, I met with your two letters, both dated the 23rd instant; and my Lady Constable sent me her letter and one enclosed from your lordship to one Mr. Hutchinson as I remember. Touching that business of Sir Edward Hussey, I can write no more than what I have above written. I believe that you will hardly get any moneys from that hand suddenly. I am sorry to hear of my lady's weakness. I beseech God strengthen her. For my own journey northward, it is a thing I very much desire; but in regard to my present employment, cannot think it yet fit to ask leave. I purpose (God willing) next week to essay it, for the time of the assizes will then draw near. And it concerns me to be there some days before, and shall endeavour, if I can possibly, to wait upon your lordship also.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

My Lord,

This storm now looks black. My husband got late out of the Parliament House, not without danger. I know you will have it from better hands. He goes to the army, but by Windsor, or somewhere that way, to get me a house. I must presently remove. Sir Thomas Widdrington thinks that I may take Mrs. Platter's word (her husband is not in town) that they will seal the acquittance; there is none made yet. My lady's friends here think that her daughter Rhoda's goods are as well where they are as in any place here. I will take your keys with me, for my niece removes too. I am sorry for my lady's weakness. I beseech

you let me hear from you; if you please, send to Sir Thomas Widdrington, to Gray's Inn. I sent your letter to Mr. Hutchinson; I hear no more of it. Sir Thomas Widdrington spake with him.

This take into consideration: the King swears he will not consent: he is much cried up. This company saith that he shall do what he will. My lord, I am

Your servant,

D. CONSTABLE.

July 27th, 1647.

The extraordinary scene glanced at by Lady Constable is fully detailed in a letter from Rushworth, which contains the fullest account of the whole transaction hitherto published. In every point of view, this is a document of great importance, showing more fully and satisfactorily than we have elsewhere seen it expounded, the faithful spirit by which the army was governed. "We still trust," says Rushworth, who was with the army and represented its feelings, "to our interests in the Parliament, in which we shall live and die." The riot had the immediate effect of drawing out the zeal and loyalty of the soldiers, and making a common cause between them and the legislature.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

UPON Thursday last we marched from Reading to Aylesbury, and staid there all Friday, and came to Bedford on Saturday last. The cause of our marching this way was

the confidence we had in the Parliament and City, both the Houses of Parliament having voted the militia of London into those hands it was formerly. But upon Friday last, there being a Common Council, petitions were delivered to several hands, that the militia might continue in the hands of the malignant party (as we call them); and there was then set on foot several petitions, as also a solemn vow and engagement in the nature of the Scots' Covenant Oath, mutually to assist another that subscribed it, to bring home the King, &c., as you will see it in print. The Commons declared against this, and that they should be proceeded against, as traitors, that proceeded therein. The Lords concurred also. It was sent to the well-affected militia, who were newly re-invested with power to proclaim it, but they durst not do it. The Lord Mayor refused to give his assistance. The people threatened to tear any that should attempt the publishing of it. The Common Council then sitting, being Saturday night, the multitude cried to have them up to the House that night with a petition for the malignant militia to continue. The House being up, all businesses were put off until Monday, July the 26th. The House was no sooner set that day, but up came the Common Council with a petition, as aforesaid, for the malignant militia to stand; and there followed apprentices, seamen, reformadoes, malignants, and tag-rag, flocking in abundance to the Houses. The Lords first gave the answer to the Common Council, that they did adhere to their Ordinance, lately passed, concerning the militia, and also to their declaration against those who should proceed in the new Oath and Covenant. The apprentices and the rest of the rude multitude, understanding this, they broke into the House of Lords, and told them that they should either recal both the said ordinances and declaration,

or they should never come out. And one of the boldest standing up at the bar, said, "Where is Manchester? we must call him to an account." The House replied he was gone down; and so, with fair words, they got them to be quiet, until they had passed the votes for re-calling both the said ordinance and declaration. Thereupon the multitude departed, and the Lords adjourned until Friday next; and they thought themselves well that they got so away. Then down came the multitude to the Commons, about two of the clock, and they having given the like answer to the Common Council which the Lords had done, the multitude told them that they must pass what the Lords had done. But the Commons were stout, and put off till 4, 5, 6, 7 of the clock. Messenger after messenger was sent to the militia, to the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs, to come down with the posse of the City, to rescue the House and relieve them. The militia stirred not, and the Lord Mayor would not. The Sheriffs came in person with some forty halberdiers, which was all the militia of the City that appeared for the Parliament.

The guards that were there stood still, and suffered the House to be thus abused, and let Scoutmaster-General Watson be seized upon by the tumult and afterwards carried to prison in the city, where he now is in custody; the servants of some of the army were abused by pulling them by the ears and noses, and so leading them up and down, saying, "These are the Independents." The sheriffs coming and making this show to little purpose, the Commons' hearts began to fail them for want of relief, and the apprentices grew more bold and broke into the House of Commons and told them they must pass what the Lords had passed or should not stir out of the House. Towards eight of the clock the Commons passed the votes to recal the declaration and ordinance for

the late alteration of the militia. When this was done and the House adjourned, the Speaker being out of the chair, many of the multitude went again into the House and thrust the Speaker back and the rest of the members, and told them he must to the chair again and pass another vote or else they would not go away; thereupon the Speaker was glad to take the chair, and the question was put that they held it fit the King should presently be brought up to London, and to which there was an answer given by some of the members, with the help of the tumult who stood by the table till the clerk wrote down the order and gave them it under his hand. This unparalleled action is such as indeed we may dread what the event is like to be. The House of Commons adjourned and was no less joyful of their liberty than the Lords were. But unhappily they adjourned no longer than until this day, and therefore it is conceived that new business will be put upon them. In brief I can conceive no other consequence can follow hereupon but absolute confusion, if not to the ruin and distraction both of the Parliament and city. If the Parliament sit they must vote everything that they would have them, and then this army will be the next vote to declare them traitors, or else they must dissolve and break in pieces, and so no Parliament, whereby all things will be out of order. Our friends did formerly complain that we retreated from Uxbridge, but modesty, civility, and integrity towards the Parliament and city, occasioned the retreat. We shall not buy our advantage perhaps at a dearer rate—we must not suffer the Parliament to be thus enslaved nor the kingdom destroyed. We think this business gives us a just call towards London for the peace of the kingdom, and to preserve the Parliament if it be not too late. Therefore by the next, expect to hear of great things. We hope the Lord

will so order our council as we shall quilt this giddy-headed multitude, being not yet countenanced openly with persons of estate, though underhand there is no want of their power and policy to effect their desires. By this appearance you may see the womb of this long hatched design, and I think you will judge it the last game and reserve they had left, and indeed it is so desperate, that it will require a desperate cure. The Lord be merciful to those he owns in the city, for it cannot be otherwise imagined but the city will be destroyed by the city; they will be obliged to put the sword into madmen's hands that will destroy themselves, and plunder them in the first place. Had this army had any mind to plunder, or any private or base end when they came so near London as Uxbridge, they needed not have lost an opportunity to enrich themselves, and therefore for the clearing of our hearts and proceedings, we doubt not but God will find out a way to direct us, and make us happy in our councils for the deliverance of this kingdom, notwithstanding all the secret plots and devices of our enemies. The King is at Woburn, not much troubled at these news, that I hear of. Our proposals for peace are finished, but not so fit (as things now stand) for public view. We still trust to our interests in the Parliament, in which we shall live and die, and with that merciful respect to those that have opposed us, that they cannot but say, if what we desired on their behalf be granted, they are dealt with in all tenderness. I believe as soon as the army is drawn together, the city will be sent unto to know whether they will own this action or no, of enforcing the Parliament in such a bold and unheard of manner; if they do, it will be fit to consider what is further to be done, that offenders may be brought to punishment, and a stricter guard kept to prevent the like evil for the future. There are

no risings in the country nor the least appearance of combination to that purpose, so that I conceive it is sudden, they being touched to the quick when the head of all their villainy, the malignant militia, began to be broken. It is said and believed, that the eleven members under hand set this business on foot, for many of the tumult gave out words at the House of Commons' door, that there were none but rogues left, such as had given their votes to cast out the eleven members that were honest men, and they should sit no longer than they acted as they would have them.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Bedford, Tuesday, July 27th, 1647.

On the next morning, both Houses met and adjourned till the following Friday. When Friday came, the Speakers were not to be found, and new ones, *pro tempore*, were elected in their place. The Parliament was acting under terror. The eleven excluded members had resumed their seats, and votes were passed confirming the demands of the City. These proceedings were urged on by tumult without and incendiaries within; and the Speakers of both Houses, with a hundred members of the Commons, and several of the Lords, repaired to the head-quarters of the army, now advancing towards London. The Parliament, driven from its seat, established itself in the camp, and held its deliberations in a council of war. Sir Thomas Fairfax, disregarding the orders of the House sitting at Westminster, which he declared was not the free Parliament of England, issued a manifesto

announcing his determination to recognise in the Speakers and members who had taken refuge with the troops the legitimate authority of Parliament, and to advance upon London for the purpose of re-establishing their rights. The attitude of the army brought the City at once to a sense of its duty; and the demands of the General were followed by the immediate compliance on all points of the Lord Mayor and Common Council. On the 6th August, Fairfax marched into London, accompanied by the Speakers and their train of members; was met at Hyde Park by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who congratulated him on the peaceful composure of their differences; was cheered by the Common Council as he passed Charing Cross; and, proceeding to Westminster, installed the Parliament in their respective houses. For these signal services, Sir Thomas Fairfax was loaded with honours on all sides, appointed Constable of the Tower, and, with great ceremony, formally thanked in the Lords and Commons, as the preserver of the peace and liberties of the nation.

The town wore the aspect of a jubilee; but the army arrears were still unpaid, and it became necessary to enforce them. Remonstrances with the authorities having failed—applications to Parliament having failed—the presence of the troops in the suburbs having failed, to induce the citizens of London to discharge their dues, Fairfax announced to the Lord Mayor the extremity to which he was put, in the last resort, of quartering some of the soldiers within the City for

the purpose of prosecuting the levy. This reluctant reference to a topic which lay at the root of all the discontents was couched in language as moderate and conciliatory as the occasion would admit.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

What tenderness has been excercised by myself and this army towards the City, what care to preserve it from the least damage or prejudice, (notwithstanding the just occasions and great provocations which have thence been given), and with what patience we have waited for the raising of those arrears which have long since been due, I need not now use many words to express. Yourselves, the City, and kingdom, do sufficiently know it. We have lain here about London so long, as we cannot continue much longer, without intolerable opposition to these parts, if not the undoing of some, and in all this time, though the occasion both of our coming and stay hath been from the City, yet in tenderness to the trade and freedom thereof, no part of the army hath been quartered in it; but the parts adjacent have borne the burden, who gave no such occasion. And if, after so long and obstinate withholding what has been so long due, in affront to so many ordinances and demands of Parliament, and in the face of an army, (at a time when so great a part of the City had made themselves so obnoxious to both), I should now withdraw the army from the City before all the arrears of taxes thence due be paid, or if those who (after so many warnings from the Parliament, with

penalties imposed upon the non-payment thereof, within the time limited,) have so obstinately withheld their dues so long beyond that time, should now escape with the bare payment of their arrears at last, I can expect no less but that the ill example thereof would, in other parts of the kingdom, give great discouragement to friends from paying their shares, and encouragements to enemies to withhold theirs as long as they can. Upon these considerations (with the advice of my Council of War) I have desired the Committee of the Army that the penalties imposed by the Parliament for non-payment (as well as the arrears themselves) may be speedily levied, and that from all those who have not before this time paid in their proportions of assessments, no less than the full penalty may henceforth be accepted. And for the speedy levying both of arrears and penalties, (according to the ordinances of Parliament for that purpose), I have, with the same advice, appointed Colonel Hewson, with a thousand foot, to come to-morrow, to quarter in the City, and within the late lines of communication, in such places as he finds fittest, until the service be accomplished; and in the prosecution thereof to observe the directions of the Committee for the Army, according to the said ordinances. If this course should be a matter of wonder or offence to any, I make no doubt but the necessity of the thing (which I have before represented) will afford sufficient satisfaction to all that wish well to the Parliament, the army, city, or kingdom, and that those whose wilfulness (if not malignity, or design to break the army and incense the kingdom,) have necessitated this, will bear the blame, both of the thing itself, and of whatever ill consequence may ensue.

I shall desire the best care of your lordship and all that wish well to the Parliament and army, or tender the safety of

the City, that in this service (so necessary both for the ends aforesaid, and for the vindication of the authority of Parliament) no impediment or affront be given to the officers or soldiers employed therein, from whence any further ill consequences might be occasioned; as, on the other side, I have commanded, and am very confident that all care will be taken by Colonel Hewson and the other officers employed under him, for the soldiers' orderly and civil demeanour, both in their quarters and in the service, and that not the least wrong shall be done by them to any in the City, nor any damage, save what the persons refusing to pay their arrears or penalties according to the ordinance of Parliament, shall wilfully bring upon themselves, and the charge of quartering the soldiers till the service be done. For which purpose I have given order to Colonel Hewson that so soon as he hath (from the Committee of the Army, or collectors,) the lists of what persons are in arrear, he shall quarter the soldiers only upon such, as near as he can, with relation to the conveniency of quartering; and if any disorder or injury be done by the soldiers or officers, as I doubt not but Colonel Hewson will be careful to give redress, so in case of his neglect, I shall be ready upon complaint to do it to the utmost myself, who am

Your lordship's faithful friend and servant,

T. Fairfax.

Kingston, Nov. 19th, 1647.

The happy pacification of affairs effected by the General was not wholly free from lingering difficulties. Honours were profusely showered upon him by the City in common with the Parliament. He was invited to

a grand banquet at the Guildhall (which he declined); a basin and ewer of beaten gold, of the value of 1000*l.* or 1200*l.*, were subscribed for as a present to him from the City; and even the apprentices hastened to him in crowds with an address of acknowledgment and congratulation. But in the flower of all these tributes, there was still a dead halt in the proceedings of Parliament, notwithstanding the liberal expressions of gratitude and confidence so ceremoniously addressed to him by both Houses. The Lords promptly responded to the energy with which he rescued Parliament from a position of danger and humiliation, and at once annulled the proceedings which had taken place between the 26th of July and the 6th of August—the interval during which the Houses had acted under coercion, and in the absence of their Speakers. This vote was, in fact, necessary to the justification of the army. It was accordingly sent down to the other House, when the question was debated from day to day, and, to the astonishment of the whole kingdom, negatived by a majority of three. The effect of this decision was to ratify in the Commons the whole of those acts which the Speaker, and no less than 100 members, protected by the army, had declared to be unconstitutional, constrained, and without force. The dilemma arising out of this proceeding required some consideration; for it could not be denied that the House, which thus decided upon the validity of former sittings, was itself a free and constitutional assembly; and that had its decision

been in the affirmative, it would have admitted of no dispute. Yet, on the other hand, the army could not acquiesce in this decision without compromising the rights and liberties which they had recently vindicated in the liberation of Parliament. If the acts which this decision authenticated were legal and constitutional, the interference of the army was unjustifiable. But these acts were clearly illegal and unconstitutional, and it was, therefore, incumbent upon the army to resume the ground upon which they had originally taken up the question, and to require from the Commons a revision of their proceedings.

Sir Thomas Fairfax called a council of war at Kingston to deliberate upon this matter, and the result was a Remonstrance addressed to both Houses, in which they set forth the necessity of the proceedings they had taken on behalf of Parliament, and declared that the votes which had been passed between the 26th of July and the 6th of August were forced, and not the expression of a free legislation. The main point aimed at by this Remonstrance was the purging of Parliament, as they expressed it, of such members as acted and voted during the time when the Speaker and the rest were driven to seek protection from the army. The language on this point was explicit. It declared that if any of the members who had sat and voted in the "pretended Parliament," should hereafter intrude themselves to sit in Parliament before they should have given satisfaction concerning the grounds of their so sitting and voting,

the army would take a speedy and effectual course to bring them to condign punishment.

This Remonstrance was received and approved of in the Lords, and read in the Commons, without further motion. Shortly afterwards, however, an ordinance passed both Houses, declaring the sittings at Westminster null and void during the interregnum of the Speakers. The shape into which this ordinance was thrown did not exactly correspond with the requisition of the army; but it fully met the substantial justice and necessity of the case.

During these proceedings, his Majesty was quietly housed at Hampton Court. Ominous dreams of Wolsey may he have had in that gorgeous palace, whose history, even down to his own day, was crowded with courtly vicissitudes! He had been moving about from place to place—from Stoke to Oatlands, and from Oatlands to Hampton—with a show of state and cheerfulness which admirably masked not merely the actual durance in which he lived, but the feelings and designs he secretly entertained. Sometimes hunting in the New Park, sometimes dining with his children at Sion House, or having them dining with him, he was to all outward appearance so much at his ease that wagers were laid from day to day that he would be at St. James's or Whitehall within a week. All sorts of people had access to him, and the road to Hampton was so crowded with visitors who came to kiss hands, or to be cured of the Evil, that Fairfax was obliged to

remove his quarters from Kingston. Colonel Whalley, who had charge of his Majesty, says, in a declaration published in his Majesty's vindication at this time, that "it is confessed no gentleman is debarred the liberty of kissing the King's hand; yet no stranger stays long; we have fresh and fresh appearances; the faces you see in the morning, you seldom see in the afternoon; at the farthest but the next day." Colonel Whalley says nothing about the healing power of the royal touch, so that it might be supposed that all these people came out of reverence and loyalty to kiss the King's hand. The subject was rather dangerous, for it was only in the preceding April that the House of Commons found it necessary to warn the people against the superstition of being touched by the King, his Majesty having largely practised in that way at Holmby, to the scandal of the nation.* In the early part of his reign his Majesty openly encouraged the belief in his divine gift by a succession of proclamations, prescribing the order and periods in which the people were to repair to him for the cure of the Evil. The historians of these miraculous cures ascribe extraordinary powers to him, and one of them assures us that he "excelled all his predecessors in the divine gift; for it is manifest beyond all contradiction, that he not only *cured* by his sacred touch, both with and without gold, but likewise perfectly effected the same cure by his prayer and benediction alone."† We can clearly understand what the

* *Whitelocke.* † *Badger.* See Pettigrew on Medical Superstitions.

attraction was that drew the crowds to Hampton, and why the morning faces were seldom seen in the afternoon. But it is not so easy to comprehend the infatuation which under such grave circumstances resorted to means like these to propitiate popularity.

While his Majesty was at Hampton Court, the propositions intended to be made to him for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom were fully discussed and finally decided upon in Parliament. The propositions, which were much the same as those formerly rejected by his Majesty at Newcastle, were presented to the King in September, and again rejected. His Majesty waived the proposals of the Parliament, and, with a world of professions about indemnity and liberty of conscience, desired to enter into a treaty founded upon the basis of certain proposals which had been drawn up by the army. The following curious document, found amongst the Fairfax papers, appears to refer to some negociation which about this time—while the propositions were yet under discussion in Parliament—had been opened, or was in contemplation, between the King and Sir Thomas Fairfax. So far as it goes, it agrees in spirit with the elaborate proposals drawn up at a council of war on the 6th of August; but no evidence can be traced that any such articles of agreement were ever submitted to his Majesty. The probability is, that this paper, in which only a few pressing topics are touched upon, to the entire omission of all the great questions embraced in the proposals both of the army

and the Parliament, was merely a rough draught of the heads of a preliminary agreement; and that the purpose or view with which it was drawn up had been set aside by the fluctuation of circumstances. There were doubtless many similar draughts of projected and unfulfilled designs written out in this way, and destroyed. This paper may have escaped the same fate by accident. It will be seen that there is at least one essential difference between these articles and the propositions of the Parliament, in the clause providing for the preservation of the rights of the Bishops, and that Fairfax distinctly comprehended the restoration of the Sovereign in his plan for the settlement of the kingdom.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE KING'S MAJESTY AND SIR T. FAIRFAX AND THE ARMY, FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF PEACE IN THE THREE KINGDOMS, AUGUST, 1647.

IT is mutually agreed on between our Sovereign Lord King Charles and His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, with his Council of War, for the speedy restoration of his Majesty's three kingdoms, and for the settling of them in a safe and well-grounded peace.

1st, That this present Parliament shall be suddenly adjourned to Oxford, and shall be then speedily dissolved, and not exceeding the space of eighty days, his Majesty's Warrant being already signed for that purpose.

2nd, That the Bishops shall continue in *statu quo prius*, and be restored to their indubitable rights, according to the ancient customs, laws, and statutes of this realm.

3rd, That all the ancient charters, laws, edicts, and several pleadings in this kingdom shall be forthwith translated into the English tongue, for the better understanding of all his Majesty's subjects therein.

4th, That all causes whatsoever shall be tried each in their respective county, and judges deputed by his Majesty, to hear and decide the said causes, that the people may no more be put to that excessive travelling to Westminster upon all occasions of suits.

5th, That the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Worcester, and the Lord Digby, shall expect no pardon: That Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, Sir Robert Heath, Sir George Ratcliffe, Sir Richard Greenville, Sir George Carteret, Sir Charles Dalison, and other notorious delinquents be banished this kingdom during life, and their estates to be sequestrated for three years, and after the three years shall be expired, the said estates to be finally settled on their posterity.

6th, That all those that have not already compounded be forthwith fully discharged.

7th, That six thousand foot and two thousand horse be, with all speed, furnished with all accoutrements for the service of Ireland.

8th, That the several guards, consisting of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, be speedily drawn off from the Tower, from the two Houses of Parliament, and the lines of communication, and the said places to be again guarded by the Citizens of London, as formerly.

9th, That liberty of conscience be allowed to all men, and that none molest or injure one another for their conscience, but peaceably and quietly bear with one another, so that we may be all kept in the general bond of peace, and though

different members, yet all wrapt up in the natural skin of one politic body, that so all may lead quiet and peaceable lives under his Majesty's government.

And that his Majesty is pleased to reside at Hampton Court, till all this be fully perfected.

These Articles were concluded and agreed upon betwixt our gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles, and our ever to be honoured General Sir Thomas Fairfax, August, 1647, to the great joy of all faithful subjects.

In the month of October, the miracle-pageantry at Hampton Court was interrupted by a sudden order from Parliament, for the withdrawal of certain officers who had latterly flocked to the palace. This proceeding took even the soldiers by surprise, and the cavalry were especially incensed at it. But Parliament quietly prosecuted its object. A design was on foot somewhere, the purport of which may be inferred from certain instructions which were issued to the officers of the Cinque Ports: "That if there be any attempt to pass any of our ports, a disguised gentleman, tall, and black hair, about thirty years old, one that varies garb, sometimes like a Frenchman, a Dutchman, and sometimes for a Scot, and that can set his tongue accordingly, examine him well; for such a man hath been observed to follow the Court lately, and fully suspected to be employed about desperate designs."

There was clearly something in agitation under the masquerade of hand-kissing and Evil-curing. About this time, too, divers ill-disposed persons were said to be

tampering with prisoners, and anonymous letters were affirmed to be constantly forwarded to his Majesty, threatening his sacred life. Under a strong belief in the truth of these latter reports (which may now be discredited, or doubted, in full), Cromwell wrote off hastily to Colonel Whalley to tell him that there were rumours abroad of some intended attempt on his Majesty's person. "Therefore," said Cromwell, "have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done, it would be accounted a most horrid act." This was written in November, the day not being stated; on the 12th of the same month, at twelve o'clock at night, Cromwell forwarded a letter to Speaker Lenthall, informing him that at nine o'clock on the night before, his Majesty had withdrawn himself from Hampton. He had, in fact, evaded Whalley's vigilant guards, and made his escape. The effect of the reading of this letter in the House of Commons may easily be imagined. It was a scene which must have transcended, in the profound sensation it produced, all the remarkable scenes that had taken place from the beginning of the struggle.

The discovery of his Majesty's escape was made within half an hour after his departure. The Commissioners and Colonel Whalley, who were in charge of him, wondering that he did not come forth as usual to supper, entered his room and found it empty. Some letters, in his own hand-writing, lay upon the table, amongst them a letter to the Commissioners, to be communicated to Parliament, opening with this striking

sentence—"Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is, the condition, the aim, and the desire of all men, common reason shows, that Kings, less than any, should endure captivity." The logic is not satisfactory, although it is built upon indisputable premises. Why, this was the thing they were fighting for all along—this liberty for all men. It was a pity that his Majesty never found out its value (and then only in his own case), till he was himself deprived of its enjoyment. It seems that he got off by the river. His cloak was discovered in the gallery in the private way. He had passed out by the back stairs and vault to the water-side.

Orders were instantly dispatched to the ports, all suspected persons were arrested, and it was declared that confiscation of estate and loss of life would be executed upon any man who should conceal his Majesty. These peremptory measures had hardly been thrown into shape, when all trouble and suspense were brought to an end as surprisingly as they had started up, by the surrender of the fugitive. His Majesty had fled to Southampton, accompanied by Sir John Barkley, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Leg, with some vague notion about getting a ship there for France, or for any place out of England; for it appears that his plans were matured only up to the edge of the water, and that he depended upon chance for everything beyond that. Failing in his expectations, he crossed to the Isle of Wight, and on the 13th of November, the second day

after he had left Hampton Court, a hasty letter was received by the House of Commons from Colonel Hammond, the new Governor of Carisbrook Castle, containing the astonishing intelligence that his Majesty was safely lodged under that hospitable roof. "This morning," says Colonel Hammond, "as I was on the way, passing from Carisbrook Castle to Newport, Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Barkley overtook me; and, after a short discourse, told me that the King was near, and that he would be with me that night; that he was come from Hampton Court upon information that there were some intended to destroy his person, and that he could not with safety continue any longer there; and that finding his case thus, chose rather to put himself in my hands, being a member of the army; whom, he saith, he would not have left, could he have had security to his person, than to go to any other place. Being herewith exceedingly surprised, at present I know not what course to take." But, for all his surprise, he went straightforward to his duty. The King had not yet left Southampton, and Hammond at once crossed over to secure him. "Hereupon," he continues, "I went immediately with them over the water, taking Captain Basket, the captain of Cowes Castle, with me, and found the King near the water-side; and finding myself no way able to secure him there, I chose, he desiring it, to bring him over into this island, where he now is. My endeavours, as for my life," he adds, "shall be to preserve and secure his person." The announcement of this

piece of intelligence in the House of Commons produced a "sensation," second only to that which followed the reading of Cromwell's midnight communication.

Colonel Hammond, in whose custody the King was thus unexpectedly deposited, had entered upon his office of Governor of Carisbrook Castle only so recently as the middle of September. He had scarcely had time to make himself acquainted with the *carte du pays*, still less to acquire personal influence amongst the inhabitants. The greater reason, therefore, for strict *surveillance* in this case. Having made such provisions as the circumstances demanded, such as issuing an order that no person should be allowed to leave the island without a pass, or to land without being brought before him and examined, he convened a meeting of the gentry, and procured their co-operation in his measures for preserving his Majesty's person, and ensuring obedience to the authority of Parliament.

Hammond had just been nominated, by a vote of both Houses, upon the Committee for drawing up a new set of propositions to be submitted to his Majesty, when the sudden flight from Hampton arrested all further proceedings in the way of negociation. He was well qualified, from his knowledge of the views of Parliament, and his zeal in their service, to discharge with discretion and firmness the responsible trust which had so suddenly devolved upon him. He had distinguished himself through the war, especially in the storming party at Bristol, where he served with his uncle, Thomas

Hammond, a Lieutenant-General in the service, and strenuous on the side of the army. Some three years before the present date, he challenged a brother officer for giving him the "lie," and killed him in a duel; but was acquitted upon trial in consideration of the greatness of the provocation. Hammond was a Chertsey man, descended from a physician who practised there before Cowley (who was about the same age as Hammond) and Dean Sprat conferred their celebrity on the Porch House. One of Hammond's uncles was as staunch a loyalist as the poet, and while Robert and his uncle Thomas, the Lieutenant-General, were engaged in the ranks of the Parliament, uncle William, the divine, enjoyed the intimate confidence of his Majesty in the capacity of one of his private chaplains. Thus it is that civil war invades the sanctuary of domestic life, and disperses its closest relations to the winds.

Colonel Hammond acquitted himself so skilfully and graciously of his disagreeable task, that he was constantly engrossed in conversation with the King, who expressed great pleasure in his society. His position was awkward —although the path of duty in the most embarrassing positions is always clear. The King had thrown himself upon his protection, and his honour was engaged for his safety. The difficulty on this point was brought to issue when the Parliament sent down warrants for the apprehension of the three gentlemen who had accompanied the King. Hammond demurred and refused. The King declared that if these gentlemen were to be

punished for what they had done, he must expect the same himself. "Further, give me leave to add," said Hammond, in a letter to the Parliament, "if so unworthy a servant of your lordships as I am, and that which concerns my honour, were at all worthy of your consideration, whether it would not much reflect upon me in case these gentlemen should be thus removed from hence. The King and themselves have freely thrown themselves upon me for safety, upon confidence, as they please to say, of my honour and honesty, and the satisfaction they expect it would have given the Parliament, the King being necessitated to remove." Such considerations might be worth thinking of, or not; but having discharged his honour of this chivalric remonstrance, Hammond closed by placing his allegiance at the free disposal of Parliament. "Whatever is commanded by authority, especially that of the Parliament, though never so contrary to my sense or honour, shall never be disobeyed."

The King, feeling himself now secure, wrote a long statement to Parliament, presenting the basis of a personal treaty. Parliament declined the treaty in this shape, and drew up other propositions in the form of four bills, sending Commissioners down with them to the Isle of Wight. The result was, as usual, unsatisfactory. The King would do nothing explicit or decisive, and the Commissioners went back, much humiliated and discomfited by their Fools' Errand. Before they left Carisbrook, intelligence reached Sir Thomas Fairfax that a

my noble friend my Lord Macclesfield told the King of, and he made me his equerry, and I served him three years in that place, and it was neither the dangers, nor fatigues of the war, nor any attendance, could have made me uneasy in my place, which was my freehold, and an honourable employment at Court, with a suitable salary. But I thought it looked too like a soldier's life, which I was always averse from in myself or my children, though I might have stayed at home, and pleaded *Jus trium liberorum*, and none could have objected it to me; yet I thought the office of an equerry required a younger man, and a fair opportunity offering of being secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, my countryman and old friend, I embraced it, and he moved the King to let me resign my place of equerry, and have a recompence for it, which I was so unwise to do before I received what he promised the Archbishop to give me, and the recompence it is yet to come.

July 10*th*, 1699.

Should I write more it must be out of the Chronicle, and that is not worth my time.

Dec. 26.—The Speaker and members of Parliament then in town met at Whitehall, and then to the Parliament House, the soldiers shouting. Orders were sent to the forces under Lambert to obey the Parliament. They voted pay.

Dec. 23—Whitlock afraid for acting in the Committee of Safety.

The soldiers revolting from Fleetwood, some of the old members and Speaker gave orders, and were obeyed.

Intelligence from Haslerig that he was coming to them from Portsmouth.

Kelsy was all the while with Lambert.

Lawson and Zanchy's brigade declare for the Parliament. Whitlock's mem.

Jan. 6.—Letters from the Lord F., Sir H. Cholmeley, and Arthington, of their raising volunteers for the Parliament, and taking of York, and complaining of Lambert. Assessments upon the country. Thanks ordered.

Dec. 27.—Letters from Monk speak of an obstruction in the treaty, for that Haslerig, Walter, Morley, acted at Portsmouth by the said authority, and Lambert had desired a pass for his messengers. Wildman and Whitlock had consulted about a free state.

Jan. 2.—Order to remove Charles Stuart.

Jan. 4.—Letters from Monk in Scotland to adhere to the Parliament, and to march against Lambert. The messenger related that he met Lambert with fifty horse at Northampton; that all his forces and himself, my Lord Fairfax and his forces, and York, had all submitted to this Parliament.

Letters from Monk, owning his prevarications with Fleetwood for the service of the Parliament, and promising obedience.

Letters from my Lord Fairfax, Cholmeley, and Arthington, as aforesaid.

Monk's answer to the addresses was—That he was but a servant to the Parliament in a military capacity, and these things of a civil concernment were to be left to the Parliament.

Jan. 23.—Addresses by some for the secluded members, others for a free Parliament.

The position which Monk held at the head of the army in Scotland enabled him to render important service at this crisis, and to furnish (as one of his

biographers says) a hand to the heart of the nation; but history has overrated, or rather misstated, his claim to the glory of having been the Restorer of the Monarchy. His individual share in the Restoration, although more conspicuous, was less influential than that of Fairfax; it would be a grave error, however, and falsification of the elements by which both of them worked, to ascribe that event to either. The Restoration was the act of the people. Monk and Fairfax aided it, hastened it, and imparted stability to its accomplishment; but whether they had aided it or not, the return of Charles was inevitable. It is well to state this matter correctly. Names are sometimes suffered to take deep root in the traditions of nations, and to grow to such height and breadth as to overshadow the soil from which they spring. The man who is drifted by the current is thus made more prominent than the action of the waters upon which he floats, and History, instead of developing operating causes, becomes a mere chronicle of Hero-worship.

All obstacles to the Restoration of the Stuarts expired with Cromwell. He alone it was who had bound up and sustained in a coherent creed Puritanism and the popular faith. The moment he died the whole mass fell to pieces, and chaos, the most dire and dismal, supervened upon the system he had called into existence, and preserved to the end by the force of his genius. There are writers who assert that it was crumbling even some time before his death; but this is

neither necessary to the illustration of the great historical fact nor true in itself. So long as Cromwell lived, Cromwell's government was safe; although as he drew near to the close, and the signs of his departure darkened the horizon, gloomy prophecies of the future must have loomed indistinctly and fearfully upon men's minds. There was no second Cromwell to succeed him: nature had broken the mould in which that one man had been shaped for his great task. The sceptre trembled in the hand of the feeble, amiable, indecisive Richard. All this was foreseen, and profited by. Of the advisers who clustered round Richard Cromwell, not one believed in him. They used him as an instrument for their own purposes. He was good for nothing more, and hardly for that, having an honest consciousness of his own weakness, which perpetually frustrated their designs.

The Army and the Parliament again broke away from each other; but their divisions were no longer marked by intelligible principles, as in the times of the Hounslow-gathering and the Agitators. The Army was divided against itself; the Parliament was convulsed into factions; Puritanism, loosened from its anchorage, was scattered and tossed over the tumultuous waves; new theories and speculative plans were launched from hour to hour; and, in the midst of these distractions, the people saw no hope but in the re-establishment of the throne. It was the natural refuge from the anarchy that was rapidly spreading over the country.

A long year and upwards was consumed in bringing

design was on foot to carry off the King, and he immediately ordered Hammond to keep a strict guard on his person, at the same time apprising Parliament of the information he had received. The design broke out exactly in the place and at the moment anticipated. Just as the Commissioners had taken leave, a drum was beat up at Newport, loud cries "For God and King Charles!" filled the air, and the streets were crowded with rioters. The object was to seize the Castle, and take away the King. But Hammond was prepared, and dispersing the mob, lodged the ringleaders in safe custody. All delicacy was now at an end. Ashburnham and the rest of the King's party, including his Majesty's private chaplains and servants, were dismissed, and sent out of the Island; the guards were strengthened; and the fugitive King found himself on the last day of the year 1647 a prisoner in Carisbrook.

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MEMORIALS

OF

THE CIVIL WAR.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

[illegible] BY JOS. BROWN FROM A VERY RARE
AN[illegible] PRINT BY FAITHORNE ENTITLED
"[illegible]EM OF ENGLAND'S DISTRACTIONS"
"AND ALSO OF HER ATTAINED & FURTHER"
"EXPECTED FREEDOM & HAPPINESS"
"PUB. 5 M. 1658"

[illegible] Hodges, Bartley, 649

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OF

THE CIVIL WAR:

COMPRISING

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FAIRFAX FAMILY
WITH THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES ENGAGED IN THAT MEMORABLE CONTEST.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

EDITED BY

ROBERT BELL,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF RUSSIA," "LIFE OF CANNING," ETC.

FORMING THE CONCLUDING VOLUMES OF

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STATE OF AFFAIRS AT THE OPENING OF THE YEAR.

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1648.

GREAT changes have taken place at the opening of the year, all tending to that consummation which, whatever may happen, cannot now be long delayed. The Earl of Essex is dead—Sir Philip Stapleton is dead—Glynn, the Recorder, is in the Tower: the rest of the Eleven Incendiaries are either dead, or out of the way "disabled," and ordered to be impeached. The Parliamentary Committee of Safety is re-empowered, and the Earl of Kent, Sir John Evelyn, and Mr. Fiennes, are placed upon it to fill up vacancies. The rejection of the Four Bills by his Majesty, who demanded a personal treaty in lieu of them, has coerced the Commons into a resolution which shuts the door for ever upon further negociation. The Scotch, after pocketing their money, instead of keeping faith with Parliament, have helped to get both parties into this perplexity by supporting the King in his royal obstinacy. On the 3rd January, the House of Commons passes a vote that no more addresses shall be made from the Parliament to the King, nor letters or messages received from him; and that it shall be high treason for any person to deliver any letter or message to the King, or

to receive any from him, without leave from both Houses. The Parliament without more parley or waste of time has taken the affairs of the kingdom into its own hands ; and the army, in a public declaration, founded on the King's rejection of the Four Bills, has sent in its adherence to the Parliament. "We do freely declare," are the words of Sir Thomas Fairfax, "for ourselves and the army, that we are resolved, through the grace of God, firmly to adhere with and stand by the Parliament in the things voted concerning the King, and what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for the settling and securing of the Parliament and kingdom *without the King* and *against him*, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him." This is conclusive. The King's name is no longer a tower of strength, save such strength as may be found in the towers of Carisbrook.

While Captain Burley, the ring-leader of the Newport riot, lies roaring in his dungeon,* the King is settling into a deep melancholy in the State apartments. Long conversations are held daily between him and Hammond. He reproaches Hammond for breach of integrity in dismissing his attendants, and Hammond says that he has only done his duty. The King tells him that he shall one day be indebted to one of his sons for his life, and Hammond replies that he is ready to answer for what he has done with his head. At last, finding he can make no impression on Hammond (who under the orders of Parliament, has sent away his own uncle, the

* He was afterwards executed.

private chaplain), his Majesty becomes more contented, exercises in the grounds and on the ramparts, asks questions about what is doing in London, Windsor, Ireland, Scotland, and grows very merry at dinner.

It is shrewdly suspected that there is a plot hatching under this smiling face of mischief. Mysterious news reaches Carisbrook of a design to invade the island, Van Trump, with Dutch ships, joined by some Dunkirkers and Irish, being at the bottom of it; but wary Hammond keeps a vigilant look-out, landward and seaward. In confirmation of this news, a ship full of Irish rebels is seized on the south-west coast of Ireland, and Hammond lays by the heels one Major Bosville who had come in disguise under the roguish name of John Fox with letters which he endeavoured to convey privately to the King. One of them is from the Queen, and another from the young Princess; they are all intercepted, and handed over to the Derby House Committee. The following letter sheds a broken ray of light upon this business. The Queen and Prince Charles are at this time at St. Germains, and her Majesty has some thoughts of throwing herself into Ireland. The writer is Sir Harry de Vic or de Vics, who in the early part of this reign had been secretary to the French mission and agent to the king of Denmark. He also served at Rochelle with the Duke of Buckingham, and will be heard of in Hardwicke's Collection. He lived at Brussels, and was a staunch adherent of the Stuarts, keeping open house for them as they passed through;

a great friend, too, of Clarendon's, receiving his letters under cover during his exile. This is the same Sir Harry de Vic whose courtship of a lady in Cologne, some five or six years later, is pleasantly alluded to by the handsome Queen of Bohemia in her letters to Secretary Nicholas.

MONSIEUR DE VIC TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

I WONDER very much at what you write in your last, of my sending of letters unto you to be conveyed to my wife under a bare cover, and without any to yourself, which I am certain is the first time I have been guilty of such a piece of uncivility, and must have proceeded from some mistake in the making up of my letters; for I wrote one unto you at that time, and I remember it by this token, that by reason I was newly returned from my little journey into Flanders, and yet very weary of the same, I prayed you to excuse me if for that time I did not write any news unto you. The Duke of ——'s journey into Germany grows every day more uncertain, and the rather for that the Archduke's coming hither, on which it depends, is not yet so fully resolved as not to admit of doubts and divers difficulties, which perhaps may stumble it. We have had here a great alarm of what the Marshal Rausan hath lately done betwixt Newport and Dixmuyde, which having proved but the cutting of a dike, that fear is now over. Monsieur le Brun, one of the King of Spain's plenipotentiaries at Munster, and the most acute able man amongst them, hath been here these eight or ten days, and is now returning, as it is thought, by the way of Holland, to hinder the further effects of Monsieur de Serment's great

endeavours to invalidate the treaty between the King of Spain and the Hollanders.* Some letters, come with the last post from Paris, speak of an intention in the Queen to go for Ireland. I pray you let me know what you know or think of that design, and so in great haste, I kiss your hands for your last, and remain,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

De Vic.

Bruxelles, 26th January, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

Your wonted favour I beg for the conveyance of the adjoined.†

Resolutions having been adopted in Parliament for regulating the attendance upon his Majesty's person, Sir Thomas Fairfax is entrusted with the task of seeing that they are carried out.

TO COLONEL ROBERT HAMMOND, GOVERNOR OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

Sir,

You see by these enclosed votes how great a burthen the Parliament hath laid upon me. I do hereby send to you that you would instantly send me a list of such as are at present about the King, who are persons fit to be confided in. If you have any in the island worthy of that trust, I would desire you to send their names also in the same list; and, if you cannot fill up the number of thirty with you, which I should be glad you could, then I desire you to send me the quality of those that will be wanting,

* The treaty which M. de Serment desired to invalidate, was signed at the Hague, without the concurrence of France, a few nights after this letter was written.

† From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

that so they may be supplied from hence. It will be necessary that you hasten this business, seeing the Parliament expects a speedy and effectual observance of their command herein. I purpose, so soon as I have received your list, to make the number up, and lay it before the Parliament to receive their approbation and allowance for my indemnity. You see by the votes that the number of thirty, of all sorts, gentlemen, their servants, cooks, butlers, &c., may not be exceeded, and therefore it will be fit that a respect be had to all occasions and necessities of the household.

Wishing you all success in your great trust and charge, I rest

Your assured friend,

T. Fairfax.

Queen Street, Feb. 5th, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

A few months later we find a communication from Hammond, urging the necessity of increasing the military strength of the island. This throws us a little in advance of the personal proceedings of the General, to whom we shall presently return.

TO THE GENERAL LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

Your Excellency's great employments have been lately such that I have not troubled you with the affairs of this place; but the concernment of them at this time is so considerable to the kingdom, that causeth me amongst other your great affairs, to acquaint you with the danger this island is in by reason of the late distemper of the navy, by the revolt of it; whose design, as I am informed, and is very likely, is to bring over soldiers to invade this island, which,

if they should do, I being not able to prevent or interrupt their landing, the islanders will be forced to join with them for their own preservation, which would impede the landing of any force for the relief of this castle for the future. My desire therefore is, that if the Parliament see fit to continue the person of the King in this place, a very considerable strength of horse and foot—300 horse, 1500 foot at the least, may be speedily sent over hither, to keep an enemy from landing. Horse would be of excellent use here, because no Horse can be brought to oppose them. I have written to the committee of Derby House about this, and also that if they think it fit to send such a force, they be sure to provide a certain way for their pay, otherwise the country will immediately be eaten up. I hear nothing from the officers of the second company I have formerly written for, though from London I have been informed that they have been long on their march hither. I hope they are the companies I formerly named to your Excellency—Captain Humphreys's and Captain Wheeler's. It is of special concernment to have sure men in the employment. They must be used in it; for if they be otherwise, it will be too much in their power to undo me and the kingdom also, as I was in danger of to have found by late experience. My lord, I thought it my duty to let your Excellency know our condition at present, it being of that general concernment, and do desire all furtherance from you which I cannot but expect,—as besides the public concernment of it, I have upon all occasions ever had so great testimony of your favour. My lord, that the direction and presence of God may carry you through all your great affairs, is the hearty prayer of, my lord,

Your Excellency's most faithful humble servant,

ROBERT HAMMOND.

Carisbrooke Castle, June 23rd, 1648.

In February, Colonel Overton, Governor of Hull, writes to Fairfax's secretary in a strain that touches the pulse of the times quaintly enough. His style is odd, and occasionally a little cumbrous and grandiloquent, but the strong heart of the man is in every line. He thinks that if the King were "infiefed" in an eternal kingdom, it would be a happy thing for the three transitory kingdoms he rules over so blindly—a strange foreshadowing of the coming event. The allusion to the City refers to a grand dinner given to the General by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Public affairs and public dinners were despatched much in the same way then as they are now. Fairfax himself had just given a dinner to his officers at Windsor upon their dispersion to their several posts.

FOR MY MUCH HONOURED FRIEND, MR. WILLIAM CLARKE, SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, AT THE HEAD-QUARTERS IN LONDON, THESE.

SIR,

I MUST acknowledge your pen pourtrays my best intelligence of the weekly occurrants, and provides the best spectacles that I can encounter in these parts. I shall be glad to continue your friendly correspondence though I cannot do it in an equal return; we are here dark-sighted and enlightened only by the spectacles we receive from the South. I, for my part, am well pleased with the Parliament's impartial proceedings touching the removal of our sovereign's servants; the declension of his state will in time pull down his spirit, which, perhaps, is too much exalted on earth to

ascend to heaven; it would prove a happy privation if the Father would please to dispossess him of three transitory kingdoms to infeoff him in an eternal one.

I am glad of his Excellency's particular respects from the city magistrate the Lord Mayor; but I hope he will not encounter their common courtesy, lest it prove a cruel kindness or a Roman festival. For the city designs, I cannot account them considerable; they having nothing left to hedge in the cuckoo, or to head their headless multitudes. The militia, Tower, and army, is all our own, and nothing theirs, except their wealth and voices, and that not unquestionable; for the present tumults they are as yet not timed, but like lightning before the thunderclap of rage and ruin.

When the 200,000*l.* Scots is paid, I should desire once more to try whether his pulse beat peace or no. I doubt the Scotch mist expelled will turn to an Essex ague, and fall into such hot and cold fits as the land of cakes cannot cure without an English antidote, or a present mouth to kiss the King's hand. No doubt they are not uninterested in all foreign confederacies, yet bounded by Him who spans the heavens, bounds the sea's proud waves, and rides upon the wings of the wind.

Sir, I am also in post-haste; you will, therefore, I hope, pardon all obliquities and accept all necessary returns. My engagements grow upon me, and yet I am constrained to encroach upon you for the continuation of your friendly favours in the mindfulness of our establishment of pay, garrison officers, and incident charges.

Sir, I here inclose a list of officers, which, if his Excellency approve of, I desire commissions may be sent down; if exceptions be taken to any, I desire some better may be introduced in their stead. I have no private ends or

aims in the preferment of any that are not public proof. In my opinion, however, his Excellency's positive commands shall be my *sententia finalis*, though I know his courtesy in letters is sometimes afforded to some who fall under such just exceptions, as if foreknown, he would not willingly have so far comported with. Sir, I pray you excuse my not writing to Mr. Rushworth; tell him I have forborne to insert Lieutenant Banks into the enclosed list; in regard I hear him so much taxed for intemperance—a crime not to be comported with, nor connived at in any civil society. I have wearied myself with writing, and perhaps you with reading; I shall therefore rest

Your ready and real servant,

R. Overton.

Hull, Feb. 11*th*, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

In the midst of all the grave political business that troubled the Houses at this period, social and moral questions were not overlooked. On the 9th of February the famous ordinance was issued for the suppression of stage-plays. By this ordinance, stage-players were denounced as common rogues, committed and fined for the first offence, and whipped as incorrigible for the second; magistrates were authorised to pull down all stage-galleries, seats, and boxes; and every person who was present as a spectator of plays or interludes was to be fined five shillings to be given to the poor. It must be said on behalf of this ordinance that it was not adopted from fear of any influence which might be worked through the stage upon public opinion, in reference to matters pending between the King and the

Parliament, but from a strong sense of "the vices and disorders," and the "high provocation of God's wrath and displeasure," which were believed to flow from theatrical representations.

We learn from the following letters, dated in the beginning of March, that scanty news had reached the Low Countries respecting English affairs, owing to the prevalence of easterly winds; and that the King's career was beginning to be looked upon there as hopeless. In Bruxelles they were deep in the carnival, installing Knights of the Golden Fleece, and apparently thinking very little about the imprisoned King and the fugitive Royal Family.

MONS. DE VIC TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours by the last orders, for which I render you many thanks, and for those that you sent me with them from my wife under Mr. Nicols, his cover, to whom I do pray you the adjoined may be delivered.

All businesses here are almost at a stand upon the news they have both from Germany and from Spain, that the Archduke Leopold is to come hither to govern these broken and shattered provinces, which would make the present chief ministers in them less careful of those preparations which the season of the year calls upon them for.

The Duke of Lorraine is not yet gone though the greatest part of his forces; namely, those which were between the Sambre and Meuse, are advanced, and have taken their quarters in the parts about the Moselle.

Madame de Meureuse is going to live at her new purchase of Carpen within three or four leagues of Cullen, where she hath already sent her household stuff.

The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo hath lately declared himself Captain-General of the Armies here, a quality he hath long had in his power to take, but never assumed it till now, though he did appear something like such a one at the latter end of the last campaign.

Four persons of the chiefest of this country are to-morrow to be installed knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, namely, the Prince of Ligny, the Duke d' Hamé, the Prince of S——, and the Count of Evreux. Pray do me the favour to impart unto me the news you receive from England, in respect you have them better served than we; and particularly for that it happens many times when the wind sets easterly, as it hath done of late, that we have none at all, which is a great discomfort unto us, not for any great good news we expect from thence for the King our master, but that we are held in uncertainties merely of what they are.

I am ashamed to trouble you so much and so often with the conveyance of letters, but the necessity of it forces me unto it, and because I am

Your ancient humble servant,

De Vic.*

Bruxelles, March 2nd, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

MONSIEUR DE VIC TO SIR R. BROWNE.

Sir,

This last week hath been wholly taken up and shared between the usual recreations and merriments, and the succeeding devotions of the time. Whatsoever the last

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

have been, I am not so great a frequenter of the churches here as to give you an account of them, neither do I think you expect it from me; and of the latter, though I might instance on many, I shall forbear to mention any of them, not so much as what passed, or rather might have passed, at the ball which the Countess of Nassau kept, if the Countess of Hostrade, daughter to the Prince of Barlancon, had not been discounselled from using the freedom denied unto none, of making part of such meetings; I shall only tell you in general that whatsoever they are at other times, for which let them answer for themselves, they have been more than usually mad all this carnival. Upon Sunday last the Count of Bossu, the Prince of ——, the Prince of Ligny, and the Count of Evreux, were installed Knights of the Golden Fleece, in the order I do set them down; the first because his patent was issued for it almost a whole year before the rest; and as for the other three, whose patents were dated all of one day, the chance of the dice determined the difference between them for precedency, to which, notwithstanding that they did submit, the Prince of —— made a protest, and had it openly read in the church, against all prejudice that might accrue thereby unto him in the rank which his birth doth otherwise give him. The Duke of Hamé had also that dignity offered unto him, with the patent for it, but would not submit to the chance of the dice in point of precedency, and so retired without accepting the same. Many other differences there have been on this occasion, which to relate, with their several reasons and circumstances, would require a herald at arms. After the ceremony ended, which lasted till 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the old and new knights were treated at the house of the youngest of them, the Duke of ——. The late courier from Spain, who arrived here upon Monday night,

was very welcome both for that he brought the ratification of the treaty of peace with the States of Holland, which was sent immediately forward towards Munster, and, with all that, by him came the so long expected Bills of Exchange which they so much wanted for the necessary preparations of the approaching campaign, against which it is not so very certain whether the Archduke Leopold will be able to come hither. And so recommending the adjoined to your wonted courtesy, with due thanks for yours of the 2nd of this month, I remain,

Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

De Vic.*

Bruxelles, this 9th March, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

About this time died Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, bequeathing Denton and all its "household stuff" to Sir Thomas, who will henceforth be designated by his hereditary title.

All prospect of a settlement being at an end, his Majesty attempted to make his escape. This was a memorable incident in the Carisbrook register, not set down in the Parliament books. "Intelligence," says Cromwell, in a letter to Hammond, dated 9th April, "came to the hands of a very considerable person, that the King attempted to get out of his window; and that he had a cord of silk with him whereby to slip down, but his breast was so big the bar would not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way, and slipped down. The guard, that night, had

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

some quantity of wine with them. The same party assures that there is aquafortis gone down from London, to remove that obstacle which hindered; and that the same design is to be put in execution in the next dark nights." Lilly, the astrologer, according to his own account, had a principal hand in this attempt. "His Majesty," says Lilly, "laid his design to escape out of prison, by sawing the iron bars of his chamber window; a small ship was provided, and anchored not far from the castle to bring him into Sussex; horses were provided to carry him through Sussex into Kent, so that he might be at the head of the army in Kent [at that moment in a state of disorder], and from thence to march immediately to London, where thousands then would have armed for him. The Lady Wherewood came to me, acquaints me therewith. I got G. Farmer (who was a most ingenious locksmith, and dwelt in Bow Lane) to make a saw to cut the iron bars in sunder, I mean to saw them, and aquafortis besides. His Majesty in a small time did his work: the bars gave liberty for him go out; he was out with his body till he came to his breast; but then his heart failing, he proceeded no farther; when this was discovered, as soon after it was, he was narrowly looked after, and no opportunity after that could be devised to enlarge him."* Lilly's version of the story differs from Cromwell's. The truth, perhaps, is midway between them. Lilly says that when the King got his head out his heart failed; Cromwell says that he

* Lilly's History of his Life and Times, 1715.

was stopped by the bigness of his breast. A Vandyck portrait, from which the engravings are made, represents the King to have been so macilent that wherever his head could get through, there could have been no great difficulty in persuading his breast to follow. Such appears to have been his Majesty's own opinion before he made the attempt, for, says a local historian, he was confident he could get through the window, having tried with his head, and judging where the head could pass the body could pass also.* But these escapes, head foremost, with a long fall, are hazardous experiments, and require great presence of mind ; so that the likelihood is, with Vandyck's thin portrait before us, that his Majesty was stopped, quite as much by failure of heart as exuberance of chest. It was his last chance ; for, from this time forth, plots were kept out by bars that were proof against saws and aquafortis, locksmiths and astrologers.

The following epistle alludes directly to the state of affairs at St. Germains. A project was entertained of sending Prince Charles into Scotland ; but the Scotch coquetted, and were afraid to have him. Then there was a plan for sending Lord Hopton into Wales, and the Marquis of Ormond into Ireland, which looked more feasible ; for the Welsh were refractory, and Ireland was convulsed from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, by the recent astounding defection of Lord Inchiquin, who had revolted from the Parliament.

* Horsley's History of the Isle of Wight.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Sir,

The Prince of Condé and Monsieur de Grammont are now at Peronne, where the general rendezvous and muster of the army is to be about this time. They do not here over confidently make the numbers as yet above 22,000 foot and 10,000 horse, as if they expected more. The affairs of Naples seem not so desperate but that they still continue their intentions of sending the fleet thither, with 8000 men, to be commanded by Prince Thomas, who goes hence within few days, and is to be generalissimo by sea and land; and under him, Lambert commands the militia, and the Duke de Richelieu the ships. Upon the news of the Duke of Guise's captivity, there were three couriers despatched away, the one to Madrid with the King's letters, avowing the duke to have been employed by order and commission from hence; a second to Naples; a third, by the Duke of Orleans to the Duke of Lorraine, demanding his intercession for the Duke of Guise; and by letters intercepted between the Duke of Guise and mistress here, it appears he is still no less prisoner to Venus than to Mars. The Duke of Schomberg is sworn Viceroy of Catalonia, and prepares to carry thither 3000 or 4000 fresh men. The verification of the edicts goes on but slowly, though the Grand Council and the Chambers of Parliament meet often about it, their consultations tending more to combinations against, than any compliance with, the King's will and pleasure. A broilery hath been about Mademoiselle receiving some overtures of a marriage with the Archduke Leopold, and some other things for which she hath been chid, and is confined to her lodgings. Upon Wednesday last, I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the

21st of April, and sent you an answer from E. W. Yesterday I received your welcome letter of the 24th, for which I thank you, and desire you to continue to write frequently; matter I am sure you cannot want in our unhappy kingdom, as fruitful as Africa itself in the production of monsters. By my cousin Keightly, who goes hence on Monday next, you you will have answers from the womankind: in the mean time, I am in their name to give you thanks for your care in the delivery of the things in the box, desiring you the next time you see my Lady M———, to let her ladyship know I am very mindful of the diamonds that are to be provided here. And I pray take an occasion to write, and in our names to acknowledge the kind tokens lately received from my Lady Clare and her daughters. Of our Prince's remove no certainty till the return of Sir William Fleming, or the sending somebody else out of Scotland. But there is a speech at St. Germains of sending my Lord Hopton with a commission into Wales, and perhaps my Lord Marquis Ormond into Ireland. I know not what to advise in the point of my friends' journey hither; they can best judge of that where they are. All I can say is, that they shall be heartily welcome, and that it will concern Mr. R. Lane to look after his business herein: that part whereof that jointly concerns him with Mr. L. G. is in no very good condition. All here cordially salute you. God bless us, and turn His face mercifully towards our miserable country, that we may meet happy at our own homes. So prays, &c.*

Paris, May 9th, 1648.

The state of the country during the imprisonment of the King, more especially after it was known that

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

he had attempted his escape, and was put under closer watch, had become tumultuous. The county of Essex, torn by distractions, petitioned for a personal treaty with his Majesty; which the Commons promised to take into serious consideration. The North rung with clamours and threatenings; riots broke out in Colchester; the town of Berwick was surprised and taken in the name of the Prince of Wales, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Charles Lucas, and others; and South Wales was in open rebellion. Rumours of skirmishes, and declarations, and risings in all parts of the country, poured in so thickly upon Parliament, that it soon became manifest that the work had to be done over again.

In South Wales the civil war was already renewed. The gentry were up in arms, most of them wearing blue and white ribands in their hats, with the motto "We long to see our King;" and such was the determination of the people, that wherever the Parliament forces appeared, the inhabitants would carry off their cattle and goods, and flying into the woods, leave their houses empty, the smiths cutting their bellows in the deserted forges, so that it was impossible to get a horse shod. "Their smiths are all gone," says a contemporary letter, "their bellows cut by themselves before they went. If one would give forty shillings for a horse-shoe, or a place to make it, it is not to be had. There is no possibility of ending this trouble, but by such a power, and such a way, as is lamentable to think." Such a power was found in the person

of Cromwell, who was hastily despatched with 8000 horse and foot, into the insurgent districts; and Colonel Horton, the Parliamentary officer who commanded in Wales, prepared a brilliant prelude for his arrival by the signal defeat of a party of Royalists, at a place called St. Fagan's, near Cardiff. The particulars of the engagement are given in the following letter, at greater length than they are to be found elsewhere. Colonel Horton is described by Cromwell as a person of great integrity and courage. He did not survive this important victory very long, dying of the "country disease," in the October of the next year.

COLONEL THOMAS HORTON TO THE LORD GENERAL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I SHALL give you a narration (according to my own observation, and the help of some of the officers with me) both of the manner and success of our late engagement with the enemy, near St. Fagan's. The enemy having drawn off from St. Nicholas to Lankarnan, Penmark, and Fulmon Castle, Friday, the 5th of May; on the Lord's day, at night, they advanced towards us again, to St. Nicholas, by which we did presently apprehend that they intended to fight, and were induced to such a belief, the rather because they knew, two days before, that Lieutenant General Cromwell was coming towards us. This made us draw in all our horse close that night, as we had done divers nights before, and prepare for the worst in the morning; and about seven in the morning our scouts discovered their body about a mile

and half from our quarters, upon which we drew out and took the best ground we could. Major Boothell commanded the horse on the right wing, Major Barton on the left wing, and Colonel Okey and his majors, with the dragoons, on both wings, with the horse. The enemy advanced fast, with a strong forlorn of foot, and about six pickering horse. Lieutenant Godfrey, with a forlorn of thirty horse and twenty dragoons, charged and routed them, doing good execution, which gave us the advantage of a new ground; for we advanced with horse and foot upon them. Captain Garland, with the firelocks on foot, and Captain Nickles, this bearer, with Colonel Okey's troop of dragoons, with some troops of horse on the right wing, disputed the first encounter very hotly with much resolution, until the forlorn of foot, commanded by Captain Leint, and more horse came from the left wing to their relief; and then they beat the enemy from hedge to hedge, half a mile before them, keeping very good order, considering the ground, until they came to a bridge and little brook, where the enemy's greatest body of foot were placed. The horse all this while and dragoons following this first success with much vigour, were constrained to stand the enemy's shot for some time before the foot (though they made great haste) could possibly get up to them; and presently the first division of foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Readfell, closed up to the enemy's front. Major Wadd, with the second division, got over the little brook, on the left flank of the enemy. Major Barton, likewise, with the left wing of horse, with much celerity passed over a boggy place and the little brook, to second those foot; and some of the enemy's horse coming on to charge the foot, were gallantly resisted and beaten back by Captain Hughes. By this time the horse on the right wing were gotten over

likewise; the enemy's foot standing very stoutly to it, until our horse began to surround them, and then they presently all ran, and we cleared the field, our horse and dragoons pursuing them for seven or eight miles. The enemy's horse, which, they say, were 500, were employed in their rear to keep up their foot, and we never saw, after we were engaged, above sixty horse in a body, all the fight. Their whole number of horse and foot are confirmed to be about 8000. They had about 2500 musketeers by their own confession, besides pikes, Welsh bills, and clubs. We took up, the day we fought, above 2000 fire-arms, with pikes, bills, and such like Welsh weapons great store; ten barrels of powder, and all the rest of their ammunition in the field, and most, if not all their colours. The number of prisoners that were taken are about 3000. I have here inclosed a list of the officers, as they gave in themselves to the marshall. Some hundreds of them were disarmed, seven or eight miles from the place of the fight, which were let go. Captain Morgan, a member of the House of Commons, sent down by them into these parts, carried himself, from first to the last, with great resolution, encouraging the soldiers, and engaging himself in the heat of the service. Captain Jones, who came off from the enemy to me, long since, with a troop of 60 horse, behaved himself very well; as also all other officers and soldiers, I can truly say, kept their order in the performance of this service, to the admiration of the enemy, as some of them confess. And that God's mercy may be the more magnified in this late happy success over our enemy, I think it now seasonable to make known unto your Excellency the straits we were in, and difficulties which compassed us about: we having a potent enemy lying within two miles (upon much advantage of ground) before us, the high mountains close to

us on the right hand, the sea near unto us on the left, Chepstow taken, and Monmouthshire beginning to rise in our rear, besides our great want of provisions, and long and hard duty, all which seemed to threaten our sudden ruin. That God should please, in this condition, so to own us, as to make a way for us through the midst of our enemies, and scatter them every way, is a mercy not to be forgotten, especially by those who have more immediately tasted of it, witnessing the truth of those things as they are herein expressed, by

Your Excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

THOS. HORTON.*

Bridgend, May 12th, 1648.

Some of the difficulties which arose to Lord Fairfax, upon his entrance into the renewal of the war, may be seen from a petition, addressed to him by the soldiers of a disbanded regiment. They still stood upon their right of petition, and required to be satisfied of the justice of the cause before they would consent to hazard their lives in the approaching hostilities.

PETITION OF COLONEL RICH'S REGIMENT, MAY, 1648.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THAT honour which we deservedly owe to you obligeth us to render an account to you of our present actions, which may seem something irregular; but when the occasion of our motion, and the necessity urging us thereto, and our ends and intentions therein be well weighed, we are confident we shall be justified by every man free from prejudice.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

We hope your Excellency remembers that in June last we were enforced, for the preservation of ourselves and the nation, to promote a petition, without the consent, and contrary to the express orders of our officers; and the freedom for which we hazarded our lives being then invaded, and our common right of petition denied us, we were constrained to associate together by a solemn engagement, at Newmarket, and to continue in arms contrary to the Parliament's order, to see the liberties and natural rights of ourselves and the nation cleared and secured. And although your Excellency did not at first concur with us, but gave forth orders to suppress our agents, and prevent their meetings, yet you were pleased afterwards to associate and engage with us in the common cause.

Now, the ends of the first engagement being in no measure accomplished, but the whole army being rendered odious to the people by the breach of their engagement; and the people being, since then, more enslaved to committees and other arbitrary powers, and their burdens increased, so that through the general discontent of the people and universal confusion is daily threatened a greater necessity than was in June last; constrained us to send some of our fellow-soldiers to St. Albans, to give us an account of the acting of those of other regiments, as to the presentation of our engagement: but to our amazement, not only contrary to the interests of our engagement, but to the undoubted freedom of every Englishman, our agents were violently seized upon and imprisoned, whilst they were peaceably preparing the inclosed petition; and although we have solicited your Excellency, by humble petitions, for their enlargement, yet they have been proceeded against by censuring some to imprisonment, and some to death. And we desire, that not only the justice of the

matter of our petition may be weighed, but also the absolute necessity of an immediate settlement of these things therein. The army is now commanded to hazard their lives in a new war, and therefore ought to be satisfied in the justice of the cause; and how that is possible we know not, while we understand not what the freedom is which we should expend our blood to defend. And our desires are, if possible, that there might be no more effusion of blood; and we judge it necessary to that end, that the freedom which we challenge as our own native right might be particularly declared to all Englishmen, that all that are now in arms against the army may know that we neither seek their blood, nor yet to enslave them, but they shall partake equally with ourselves of that freedom which we defend with our lives. For this end it is that those things which we esteem the price of our blood were summed up in the petition hereunto annexed, and unless our desires therein be speedily answered, we cannot satisfy our consciences in hazarding our own lives, or spilling the blood of our countrymen.

These things we sadly offer to your Excellency's considerate thoughts, and the rather because your Excellency is more eminently concerned than any one of us, in all those reasons which have induced us to press for the perfecting of that work which, through God's blessing upon your conduct, was so happily begun, to the several contentment, not only of the soldiery, but of all the well-affected people in England. May it therefore please your Excellency so to look upon

Your Excellency's most faithful soldiers,

And humble servants.

May, 1648.

Wednesday, 17th May, was appointed thanksgiving

day for the victory in Wales. On this day, Mr. Mabbott, a member of the Commons, sends an account of the proceedings in the House to Lord Fairfax.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THE House of Commons on Monday last, ordered that thanks should be given to the committee of Kent, for their great pains upon examining the business of the riot in that county, and to desire them to proceed in the further examination thereof. The House yesterday, ordered that thanks should be given to the commoners and gentlemen of the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Chester, and Lancaster, for what they had done in preserving the peace of their counties. Sir Wilfred Lawson was acquitted of the charge laid against him, and ordered to repair into Cumberland for preservation of the peace of that county. The House then proceeded to debate the ordinance for the militia of London and approved of the Lord Mayor, Alderman Wollaston, Alderman Reynoldson, Clarke, Gibbs, Chambers, Foote, Avery, Bid, and Viner; Major Skippon, the two Sheriffs of London, Colonel West, Mr. Richard Glide, Mr. Edmond Browne, Peter Jones, Major Thomas Chamberlain, Colonel Thomas Player, Colonel John Bellamy, Mr. William Jesson, Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Mr. William Kendall, Mr. Thomas Arnold, Mr. Nathaniel Hall, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Bellamy, Mr. Francis Waterhouse, Mr. Anthony Bateman, Mr. Thomas Andrews, Captain Richard Vennour, Mr. Peter Mills, Mr.

John Gace, Mr. John Iwim, to be the militia for the City of London. This day the House ordered thanks to Mr. Marshall and Mr. Bridge, for preaching this day before them. A committee was appointed to examine the matter of yesterday's tumults, and to state the business, and to draw a declaration upon the whole, and therein to set forth the course that ought to be observed, by petitioning according to custom and ancient practice. That the city be desired not to suffer any multitudes to pass through the city upon any pretence whatsoever, and to give power to disarm such. They further ordered that the ordinance for putting delinquents out of the late lines be renewed for six months. That the late rioters of the city be speedily tried, and a speedy account thereof given to the House. That the horse yesterday seized of the petitioners of Surrey, be not disposed of till further order. That the committees of Kent and Surrey be desired to prevent all tumultuous meetings in their counties upon any pretence of petitioning or otherwise. A letter this day from Colonel Horton, and a particular enclosed, was this day read and ordered to be printed. The Lord Mayor and twelve companies did strictly observe this day of thanksgiving, but all shops were open. The chief of the petitioners yesterday, of Surrey, expressed their hearty sorrow, and that they were ashamed of the incivilities and provocations of the petitioners to the soldiers. I have nothing further at present, but to subscribe myself

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

G. Mabbott.

17*th May*, 1648.

In a brief note from Endymion Porter to Sir Richard Browne, we have a glimpse of the disheartening effect

produced upon the Royalists abroad by the news of the unsettled state of affairs in England. The question of re-opening a treaty with the King was dragging slowly through the Commons, and from the preparations for a renewal of the war on all sides there was little hope of an amicable settlement of differences. Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, high in favour with James and Charles I., was one of the most accomplished men of his time, a wit and a poet. He displayed much activity and dexterity during this period in the secret negociations and correspondence upon which he was employed in the service of the King.

MR. ENDYMION PORTER TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Most honoured Sir and my dear Resident,

I wrote unto thee last week, but we have a cooler from England this, and therefore I cannot be so merry as I thought to have been; yet methinks Sir William Fleming and William Murray should not come thither empty handed. I hope they bring you chirping news, and that you will give William a vowee at the Spread Eagle, and not forget me, but dash me in one glass as you do an orange peel; and I believe William will not like the wine the worse. We are here in state of grace with the taking of Courtraye, and are confident to relieve Ypres, which if we do, let me tell you there will be foul breeks at Paris, for all the huge bang the Swedes have given the Emperor; but why should we English hearken after what other nations do. I would we were quiet at home, and let them fight, dog, &c.; kiss my sweet lady

and countrywoman for me, and assure her I love her with my whole heart; and you may be confident that I am,

Dear sir,

Your faithful and most affectionate humble servant,

ENDYMION PORTER.

Brussels, May 30th, 1648.

I beseech you command this letter to be sent to my lord marquis of Newcastle.*

The disturbances in Kent had now assumed so menacing an aspect that the reduction of the county was confided, with full discretionary powers, to Lord Fairfax. He was suffering from severe indisposition when he received this order; but we find the old spirit, notwithstanding, as energetic as ever. On the 29th May, he had a rendezvous at Blackheath, and marched at once towards Rochester. The people were rising in every direction, and the march is described in numerous letters, as a succession of flying skirmishes. Old Lord Goring had appeared amongst the insurgents, and been appointed General-in-Chief. An account of the engagement at Maidstone is supplied in the following letter (omitted by Rushworth) from Lord Fairfax to the Speaker of the House of Peers. In this engagement, Lord Fairfax, undergoing tortures from a malignant attack of gout in his right foot, could not be prevailed upon, says a gentleman who was present, to remain with the body in the field, "but mounted and exposed himself to great danger, being one of the first in this action."

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD EARL OF MANCHESTER, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF PEERS, *PRO TEMP.*

My Lord,

I shall, according to my last, give your lordship this further account of our success at Maidstone. Upon Thursday in the evening, about seven of the clock, after very long marches, we got near the town; and a troop of dragoons was sent to make good a pass, whilst the town was viewing at what place our men might best enter; it being resolved upon to force our passage in case of resistance, the gaining of that town over the river being of great advantage to our affairs. But, before there could be a view taken of the town, the dragoons had engaged the enemy, and forced them from that ground which they kept; the dragoons, being very forward to engage, pursued; and so the enemy drew forth a considerable party of horse and foot to maintain a pass against us, which necessitated the drawing down of the greatest part of the foot, with some horse; and though that part of the town was of the greatest difficulty to enter, yet, through the goodness of God, our men made their entrance, and became masters of the town, after four or five hours' hot service, the town being very strongly barricaded; and, through the darkness of the night, and our ignorance of the town, they disputed the barricades and places of advantage with our men, playing hard with their cannon upon them; in which service, both horse and foot did exceeding well; and particularly, I cannot but take notice of the valour and resolution of Colonel Hewson, whose regiment had the hardest task (Major Carter, his

major, being hurt, and Captain Price, a deserving and faithful officer slain). The best of their men were there, whereof many were cavaliers and London apprentices. They looked upon the consequence of that place to be very great, and therefore did resolve to make what resistance they could; the old Lord Goring being that day proclaimed General, at the head of their army, upon the hill near Aylesford, where we saw their body drawn up, which, as their prisoners since do confess, and they themselves gave out, consisted of eight thousand, besides those in Maidstone and Aylesford, in both which places there were about three thousand men, those of Aylesford coming as a fresh supply to relieve those engaged in Maidstone. There were near three hundred slain, and about thirteen hundred prisoners; many of them being taken next morning early, in the woods, hop-yards and fields, whither they fled in the time of the fight; amongst which were gentlemen of good quality, Sir Gamaliel Dudley, Sir William Brockman, Squire Scott, Major Price, and others; a list whereof is preparing to be sent. There were about five hundred horse, three thousand arms, nine foot-colours, and eight pieces of cannon, with store of ammunition also, taken in the first charge which our forlorn hope gave the enemies' horse, wherein our horse carried themselves very gallantly (as I since hear). Sir John Maney and divers others of quality were slain. After it pleased God to give us this great mercy in the gaining the town, their men received so great discouragement, that the greatest part of their army left them and were dispersed, and a great number of officers and gentlemen since fled to shift for themselves. Their word at the engagement was, "King and Kent." Ours, "Truth." Having thus possessed ourselves of the passes at Maidstone and Aylesford; the enemy being much

confused with our success, and their own men deserting them; they at last marched over Rochester Bridge, towards Blackheath, with about three thousand horse and foot, most of which were cavaliers, apprentices, and watermen. Our men not being able to make so speedy a march after them as was necessary, I sent Colonel Whalley, with a party of horse and dragoons after them; upon whose approach, they have left Kent, and are fled over the water into Essex, by Woolwich and Greenwich. Colonel Whalley is in pursuit, and I doubt not but he will give a good account of that service.

I have sent Colonel Rich, with a party of horse and foot, to relieve Dover, where I trust we shall find the same presence of God as hitherto hath been. My prayer to the Lord is, that this great mercy may be further improved, to His glory and this kingdom's good. I thought fit to present unto your lordships these papers inclosed, taken from the enemy, whereby you will receive the depth of their plot, and their engagements to pursue what they have undertaken. I remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

Rochester, June 4th, 1648.

I have secured the Mayor of Rochester, whose hand is to the commissions granted for raising of forces.

The scene is now suddenly shifted to the low grounds of Essex, where Goring, reinforced by Sir Charles Lucas, has established himself in considerable force. On the 10th June, Lord Fairfax prepared to cross the river. The following despatch is dated on the same day from the centre of the Essex camp.

EDWARD WHALLEY TO LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

The enemy hath quitted Chelmsford, and marched to Lees, where, as soon as he came, he had 500 arms besides great ordnance, without resistance. We marched close in the rear of him; but he doth so overpower us with foot, that we cannot engage in this close country but with great disadvantage, to the hazard of the brigade. We are endeavouring a conjunction with Sir Thomas Honniwood's forces, who is reported to be 1200 horse and foot. Sir, it behoves you to hasten all the foot up you can, and to come yourself, otherwise the enemy will be suddenly formed into a considerable army, and will engage us. I shall need to say no more to your Excellency, but that I am,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble and faithful servant,

Edw. Whalley.

Waltham, five miles from Chelmsford,
June 10th, 1648.

Our friends report the enemy to be 5000 horse and foot, and, like a snow-ball, increasing.

My lord—I desire to know which way and when your lordship comes, that I may take care to secure you; doubts the best way is by Gravesend.

My lord—Since the writing and sealing of this, I received your express, and shall desire your excellency's force may march by Gravesend to Tilbury, and so to Billericay.

Edw. Whalley.*

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Before Fairfax crossed the river he reduced Kent to submission. Great show of preparation was on foot through the woods and villages of Essex, where the Royalists were struggling to make a stand—Goring at Bow, and the Earl of Norwich at Chelmsford. A meeting of the gentry of the county took place here, a sort of mixed council of war, which ended in a Babel of irreconcileable opinions. One thing alone was clear, that the attempt to resuscitate the King's cause was regarded by the majority of the King's friends who were present as a sheer piece of Quixotism. Some of them were for throwing down their arms ; others for dispersing and dropping out of the town privately; many of them withdrew, and sent in their adhesion to the Parliamentary Commissioners who were then in Chelmsford. Symptoms of disorder were breaking out also amongst the soldiers. Goring had beaten a retreat from Bow ; and the approach of Fairfax produced such a sensation at Chelmsford that Norwich was no longer able to keep his forces together there. In this crisis, Sir Charles Lucas, who was associated in the command with the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel, effectually bubbled the troops by desperate misrepresentations of the strength of the party, and of successes and succours invented for the occasion.

Sir Charles Lucas belonged to that class of bullying, reckless, dare-devil adventurers who mixed largely in the ranks of the cavaliers, and were designated in their own day as soldiers of fortune. The campaigns of the Palatinate, the war with Spain, the siege of Rochelle, had

taken off, in the early of part this reign, shoals of street brawlers and tavern gasconaders ; and from these dregs of the English population was generated a new race of roarers and cut-purses, who returning home at the beginning of the Civil War, found ready employment in the King's service, which they disgraced by crimes and debaucheries. Sir Charles Lucas was distinguished by the unscrupulous passions and audacity of these people, with whom he had long associated abroad. Belonging, however, to a family of local consideration, he could not be regarded as a soldier of fortune in the ordinary sense, although his bearing assimilated him with that class. He was the second legitimate son (for the eldest was born before marriage) of the sheriff of the county ; and his brother a zealous Royalist, from whose only child, a daughter, descends the noble house of De Grey, had been raised to the Peerage by the King in 1644. Sir Charles was bred up in stables and barracks ; fencing, wrestling, and shooting, were the favourite pastimes of his youth ; and his initial experiences of life were gathered under the Prince of Orange in the wars of the Low Countries. Daring and impetuous, having a high contempt for the refinements of courts and drawing-rooms, looking upon music, dancing, and such surface graces, as "too effeminate for masculine spirits ;* free quarters, the camp, and the saddle

* "A Relation of her Birth, &c." written by his sister Margaret, and quoted in a Memoir of Sir Charles Lucas, drawn up for private circulation by the present Earl De Grey.

were his glory. His manners took the colour of his habits; rude, bold and dissolute, the defects and vices of his education were equally conspicuous in his private intercourse. He was in his proper element amongst troopers and in the thick of a fight; but, says Clarendon (a statement confirmed by sufficient authorities), "at all other times and places, of a nature scarce to be lived with; of no good understanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very morose conversation." In this character we discover traits of sensuality and coarseness which offer a broad contrast to the romantic ideal of the gallant and generous cavalier. But the King's service was put to extremities in replenishing its *matériel*, and compelled to avail itself of all the unappropriated muscles that could be procured, without exercising much delicacy of choice. And thus the Royal army, which boasted of such noble spirits as Falkland and Hopton, was freely recruited from the troops of roystering brigands who poured into England at the first trumpet-blast of the war. This mixture of chivalry and baseness was not to be found on the other side. The Puritans fought for a *cause;* and this was the grand distinction between the two parties. Royalty made up its army, as Kings' armies time out of mind have been made up, by the standard of height and the seductions of pay; but the army of the Parliament was enlisted by a principle, and every man had his heart in the struggle, and staked his fortune on the issue. Hence, if the Puritans lacked the picturesque accessories and poetical elements with which

the plumed and starred cavaliers have so plentifully supplied the pages of historical romance, they possessed purer and more earnest elements, steadfastness of purpose, devotion to the death, and a moral heroism less dazzling on the surface, but bequeathing to all time its solid triumphs and imperishable example.

In 1643, Sir Charles Lucas received a commission from the King, was present at Marston Moor, made an ineffectual attempt to burn Nottingham in 1644, and in 1645 had the command of Berkeley Castle, which he was compelled to surrender. He was taken prisoner on several occasions, but how he recovered his liberty, through what agency, or on what condition, is not known.

That he was a man of resolute character, ready to carry his objects by the most flagitious means, may be seen in his conduct at Chelmsford. News had arrived of a rising in Colchester—(news was hourly arriving of risings in fifty places)—and, as his personal influence there was matter of notoriety, he turned the circumstance to the most favourable account in working upon the vacillating hopes of the soldiers. This scrap of intelligence was intensified by the addition of gratuitous delusions. The troops were assured that Norfolk and Suffolk were preparing to join them ; that Dover Castle and other strong places were already in the hands of the cavaliers ; and that the King was actually on shipboard waiting for them in the Thames ! And so, says recording Rushworth, surprised by these mendacious proceedings into a sudden burst of contempt, " by lies

and tricks they seduced the people exceedingly." The "people" unfortunately are not always proof against "lies and tricks," and Lucas was exactly the person to put their aggregate weakness to an irresistible test. He succeeded accordingly in whisking them off in a fit of insane enthusiasm to the gates of Colchester, carrying with them the Parliamentary commissioners who had been sent to Chelmsford to treat with the insurgents. The situation of the commissioners was awkward enough when they were afterwards stowed away in the town during the siege, the inn in which they were lodged being occasionally struck with shot, so that they were obliged to send a special message to Fairfax, advertising him of the position of their house, in order that he might shoot in some other direction.

When Lucas reached Colchester the gates were shut. Fairfax was following close upon him, and, in consideration of his desperate circumstances, the inhabitants consented to receive him upon a strict engagement that property should be respected, and no injury offered to the people. But he had no sooner secured himself in the possession of the town, than he abandoned it to the wanton licentiousness of the soldiers, set fire to streets and houses, plundered the citizens, and committed other excesses of a revolting kind, himself setting the example in person. Frightful scenes were acted in private houses, the men being forcibly sent out of the way to facilitate the infamous designs of the brutish troops. One lady had a pistol placed at her breast, which she preferred to

dishonour; and Lucas was saved from the commission of an unmanly crime by the opportune arrival of Lord Goring, who called him off to his duty.* The indignation of the people was heightened by the reflection that these atrocities were inflicted upon them by men to whom they had hospitably thrown open their town, as an asylum against a pursuing enemy.

On the 13th June, two days after the arrival of the Royalists, Fairfax appeared before Colchester, and summoned it to surrender. The summons was treated with supercilious irony, the Earl of Norwich asking the trumpeter how the General did, and adding "that he heard he was ill of the gout, but he would cure him of all diseases." Such was the spirit of insolence with which the negociations were opened by the Cavaliers. All Fairfax's proposals were scornfully rejected. The nature of them may be seen from the following document :—

PROCLAMATION TO COLONEL BARNARDISTON, TO BE PUBLISHED AMONG THE SUFFOLK FORCES.

Whereas, in answer to a letter sent out of Colchester, concerning a treaty, I have offered liberty to all private soldiers and persons of that rank, laying down arms, to depart to their own homes, and to be left free from the violence of the soldiers, together with other conditions to persons of other quality, I do therefore require and command

* The facts are given in detail, in a contemporaneous tract, entitled "Colchester's Teares: John Bellamy, Three Golden Lions, Cornhill, near the Exchange. 1648."

all soldiers, officers, and others, whom these may concern, that in case before acceptance of, or agreement thereupon, the conditions tendered to all of the enemy's party for the surrender of the town, any private soldiers, or persons of that rank, shall come away from the enemy with their arms, or without, and shall peaceably come into the guards, rendering such arms as they have, or shall bring with them, that in such case no plunder nor violence be committed upon any such persons, and that they be quietly brought to the head quarters, there to receive passes for their repair to their own homes.

Given under my hand and seal, the 21st June, 1648.

T. Fairfax, L. G.

June 21*st*, 1648.

The same system of deception which had been resorted to at Chelmsford was actively employed to conceal from the troops the terms which were offered by Fairfax, and to delude them by the promise of succours, which were well known to be hopeless. We have an evidence of this in a proclamation which was read at the head of each regiment :—

All gentlemen and soldiers who have listed themselves under the immediate command of Sir Charles Lucas, General of the King's Forces, raised for the defence and preservation of his Majesty's Royal Person, Crown and Kingdom, are required to stand firm, and to defend their town against all opposition, being assured that, within a few days, his Highness, James, Duke of York, will come in to our assistance with a considerable army from Holland.*

* "Bloody News from Colchester concerning the late fight on Tuesday last between the Town, under the command of Sir Charles Lucas, and the Suffolk forces, near the East Gate, &c., 1648." The "late fight," was a skirmish

The Duke of York from Holland and the King in the Thames, represent only one class of the frauds that were practised on the soldiers. Another form of falsehood—the suppression of truth, which is very effective on most occasions—was also resorted to. The terms offered by Fairfax were either carefully concealed or falsified. When the troops asked what the trumpeters came so often about, they were told "that it was about a treaty; and that the General offered fifty thousand pounds if he (Goring) would let him draw off quietly with his army, but that he would not grant it."* And all this time the provisions in the town were vanishing to famine point, without the remotest prospect of relief. "We had lived," says one who was amongst them, "six weeks upon horseflesh, three days without bread, and remaining (as the chief officer of the store told us) but three barrels of powder in store."† When Lord Fairfax found that his offers were thus treacherously dealt with, and that the terms he had proposed were concealed from the soldiers and the townspeople, he caused copies of the following paper to be shot over the wall; so that the people should be apprised of the perils to which they were exposed by the perfidy of the commanders.

between the Suffolk troops, entrenched at the East Gate, and some of the besieged. These Suffolk troops were amongst the allies, whose assistance Lucas had promised to his followers. * Rushworth.

† "A True and Perfect Relation of the Condition of those Noblemen and Gentlemen in Colchester: and their reason in yielding up the said towne to the Lord Fairfax. 1648."

PAPER SHOT INTO COLCHESTER.

The General the Lord Fairfax hath sent several summonses to the town, in one of which, he offered that all private soldiers and persons of that rank laying down arms, and engaging not to bear arms any more against the Parliament, should have liberty and passes to go to their several homes and there quietly to abide. The officers and gentlemen of quality, should have liberty and passes to go beyond sea with equipage befitting their qualities, engaging not to return unto this kingdom without leave from the Parliament, and all persons should have quarter and be free from plunder or violence of the soldiers. This being rejected and scornfully retorted by the Lord Norwich, Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, the General yet offered to make good the same conditions to so many as should accept thereof, except those three persons themselves, which hath accordingly been performed with advantage to all such as have since come off. He hath lately summoned them again to surrender the town, and the officers to render themselves to the mercy, and the rest only to the future obedience of the Parliament. This also hath been rejected with scorn. Nevertheless, understanding that the Lord Goring, Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, and some officers of their council, have concealed these overtures both from the soldiers and townsmen, and from many of the officers, and that they have given out as if they had good conditions offered to themselves if they would render up the soldiers, and perceiving that the soldiers and townsmen have been deluded by them and their chief agents with daily expectations of relief, while there is none at all towards them: the General is willing to make good the same con-

ditions to so many as shall timely accept thereof, except the Lords Goring, Capel, and Lucas themselves, with the Lord Loughborough, Colonel Farr, Colonel Laurence, and Captain Lyon, and except all such soldiers as have been in the army since the siege, and are gone into the town.*

* * * * *

And further adds, that if the soldiers shall lay down arms and deliver up the persons aforesaid, they shall have liberty and passes to go to their several homes free from plunder and violence of the soldiers.

July 22nd, 1648.

The condition of affairs in the town became more deplorable daily. In vain the inhabitants appealed to Lord Goring. He told them that they had no reason to complain until horseflesh had reached tenpence a pound, and that they might eat their children if they wanted food. Butter had risen to five shillings a pound, and other provisions in proportion ; but Goring and the rest still held out, beguiling the troops by assurances that the London apprentices had risen and were coming to their succour; that a 1000 horse were on the road to raise the siege ; that Parliament was up and many members cut to pieces, and similar monstrous fabrications. In the midst of their strait, surrounded by a famishing population, they continued to exhibit an inexplicable spirit of cruelty, setting fire to the streets, and committing lawless brutalities in private houses ; and these drunken and ferocious acts were crowned with the most daring

* The intervening lines struck out in the original.

insolence to the besiegers, returning to the repeated summonses of Fairfax such answers as this,—"That if any more letters of that kind were sent them, they would hang up the messenger."

Obstinate in their resolution not to treat, they were, notwithstanding, so perfectly sensible of the impossibility of maintaining themselves much longer, that they kept their horses constantly saddled, and made many attempts to escape by night in which they were foiled by the activity of Fairfax. At last their situation became too desperate to admit of further parley; all communication with the country was intercepted; the water was cut off; no supplies of any kind could be procured; from horseflesh they were obliged to come down to dogs; and the few horses that were still kept for the use of the officers, were reduced to skeletons for want of food. In this miserable plight—but not till they had committed the most disgraceful violations of the usages of war by mixing sand with their small shot, and poisoning their bullets—they surrendered; the private soldiers and officers under captains, to have fair quarter, and the lords and superior officers to submit to mercy. On the 28th August, Norwich, Capel, Goring, Lucas, and the rest rendered themselves up, according to the articles, at the King's Head Inn, (an ominous sign for such an occasion!) and Lord Fairfax took possession of Colchester. "This morning," says Rushworth in a letter to Lenthall, "we rode round about the wall of the town, and found it a very strong place in all parts of it; where it was

weakest there they made strong works, and strengthened it with earth; it was a sad spectacle to see so many fine houses burnt to ashes, and so many inhabitants made so sickly and weak, with living upon horses and dogs; many had to eat the very draught and grains for preservation of life."

After having inspected the town, Fairfax called a council of war, at which it was resolved that Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, should be shot to death.* Sir Bernard Gascoigne was afterwards reprieved—the other two were led out at seven o'clock in the evening to a green spot under the walls of the castle, where the sentence was carried into execution in the presence of Colonels Ireton, Rainsborough, and Whalley. Sir Charles Lucas was led out first. Being placed opposite the three files of musketeers, he said, "I have often looked death in the face in the field of battle; you shall see I dare die." He then fell on his knees, and rising again he opened his doublets, and placing his hands by his sides, exclaimed, "See, I am ready! Rebels, do your worst!" They fired and he fell dead without a word. Sir George Lisle on being brought out knelt down and kissed the body of his friend, then standing up, he desired the

* In some of the Peerage Books it is carelessly stated that these cavaliers were shot by the orders of Cromwell, who was at that moment annihilating the Scotch army in Lancashire. Such mistakes are of frequent occurrence in the loose compilations that bear upon this period, the Editors of them unhesitatingly ascribing to Cromwell every act for which they cannot immediately find an authority, just as unappropriated jokes are set down in the Jest Books to the ruling wit of the day.

musketers to draw near. "I warrant you, sir," said one of them, "we'll hit you;" upon which he answered with a smile, "I have been nearer when you have missed me." Then after a pause he said, "I 'm ready; traitors, do your worst!" He had hardly spoken when he dropped down dead.*

Great blame has been cast upon Lord Fairfax for the execution of these officers. But it is nowhere assumed that he exceeded the powers with which he was armed by the terms of the treaty. When he proposed that the superior officers should *submit upon mercy*, the question was raised as to what was meant by that phrase; and it was finally accepted at both sides as reserving to him the right of suffering some to go free, and of putting others to the sword. The agreement was perfectly explicit; and, however deeply the necessity, or the execution, of such extreme measures may be deplored, the strict legality of the act, in this instance, is above impeachment. Perhaps this is not the highest ground of justification; but so far as the honour of the soldier is involved it is complete.

Censure has pressed somewhat hardly upon Lord Fairfax in this matter. The executions took place

* A pamphlet of the time, entitled "A true and exact relation of the taking of Colchester, sent in a letter from an officer of the army to a member of the House of Commons—1648," has a curious vignette representing this scene, with Lucas lying dead, and Lisle exclaiming "Shoot, rebels!" while four soldiers are pointing the muzzles of their guns close to his body. The rude design is enriched with an appropriate motto:

"Your shot your shame,
My fall my fame!"

under the sentence of a Council of War, for whose decision he was not responsible. So far even from desiring to influence that decision, he went into the court with reluctance, and would not have gone there at all, but at the request of the friends of the prisoners. His own account of the transaction is in these words:—"But it may be objected I went into the court during the trial; to which I answer, it was at the earnest request of my Lord Capel's friends, who desired me to explain there what was meant by surrendering to mercy; otherwise, I had not gone, being always unsatisfied with those courts."* The noble biographer of Lucas, although he charges upon Fairfax the responsibility of exercising the power reposed in his hands, adding that "the course he pursued leaves a bloody stain upon his memory," indirectly exonerates him to the extent of having been governed by the judgment of others rather than his own. "The manner of taking the lives of these worthy men," he observes, "was new, and without example, and concluded by all men to be very barbarous, and was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the General, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature."† Whatever effect Ireton's opinion may have had at the trial, it is in the last degree unlikely that it exercised any undue weight

* Short Memorial, p. 124.

† Memoirs of Sir Charles Lucas, p. 57. That Ireton was not quite so sanguinary a person as he is sometimes represented may be credited from the benevolence and forbearance he showed on many occasions; such, for example, as his intercession for that poor, shrinking, friendless knight, Sir John Owen.—See Col. Hutchinson's Memoirs, Ludlow, &c.

with Fairfax, who, of all men, was the least accessible to private or personal influence. He had the warrant of a formal sentence for what he did, and acted upon it rigorously in the discharge of a public duty. As to the "*manner* of taking the lives of these worthy men" (whose worthiness, at least, we may be permitted to doubt), it was neither new nor unexampled, but in conformity with the established custom of military law.

The actions of one party are not to be defended by reference to the actions of another; but it is only reasonable, if a "bloody stain" rests upon the memory of Lord Fairfax for the execution of Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, that the examples of similar severity which were set on the other side should not be wholly overlooked. Such examples might be cited. One—that of Colonel Windebank—will suffice to show not only that the summary sentences of war councils were carried out with equal promptitude, but that the same mode of execution was also adopted by the Cavaliers. Colonel Windebank being surprised in April 1645 at Blechington House by Cromwell, and despairing of succour, capitulated on honourable terms, obtaining safe conduct for himself and his troops to Oxford, where the King lay. "But his Majesty," says Rushworth, "highly resented the surrender of this garrison so near Oxford in this manner, and Colonel Windebank was for the same called before a council of war, and condemned, and though by the interest of his father and friends great applications were made for saving his life, *he was*

shot to death, and his brother, a Lieutenant-Colonel, laid down his commission." All wars cast "bloody stains" upon the memories of soldiers; and in judging at this distance of time of actions such as these, we must keep in view the temper of the age and the pressure of events, and be careful, above all, not to single out circumstances common to the civil wars of all countries, and stamp them as exceptional instances. What express severity was there in reference to Lisle or Lucas which does not also show with heightened colours in reference to Windebank? In neither case must we look for any justification beyond the urgency of war, which crushes all appeals to temperate reason, and sometimes finds in individual sacrifices an excuse of mercy to thousands. But the justification, such as it is, applies with equal force to both sides.

In his "Short Memorial," Lord Fairfax says that Lisle and Lucas were "soldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed;" upon which the biographer of Lucas observes that this "is a gross misrepresentation of facts, at least so far as Sir Charles Lucas was concerned, who had a competent estate of his own, and was heir besides to the title and fortune of his brother, Lord Lucas." This is perfectly true. Sir Charles was not a soldier of fortune. But the question does not rest upon this fact, nor was it upon this ground that Sir Charles was put to death, although it might seem so from that shambling sentence. Sir Charles Lucas was amenable to the articles of war

on other and more serious grounds; nor can the "Short Memorial," which is a mere scanty outline, never descending into details, written merely for private perusal, and not given to the world for nearly thirty years after the death of Lord Fairfax, be cited as an authority to fix responsibility of any kind upon the writer. Lord Fairfax was a great soldier, but his laurels fade, and we are almost tempted to doubt that he really won them, the moment he appears as an author. We must seek elsewhere for authentic explanations of the circumstances which that unsatisfactory "Memorial" touches so obscurely.

In a contemporary publication, already quoted, will be found the following passage:—"Sir Charles Lucas was conceived (and too true) to be the cause of the ruine of the place, his interest in the town drawing the army thither. He was the head of all those that did rise in this county, and so brought the odium of the country upon him, and at last grew harsh to the townspeople (a thing contrary to his wonted disposition) when they complained of a want of bread, not regarding what miserie he brought upon that place where he was born; besides, it was affirmed unto to him by four persons at his death, that he put two men to the sword with his own hands, in cold blood, long after quarter granted. The other [Lisle], as was informed, was a great cause of burning of the houses about the town, and a person bent to much mischief."* These facts have not been

* Colchester's Teares.

controverted. The cruelty exercised towards the town, not only in holding out a protracted and utterly hopeless siege, but in the destruction of property and the infliction of brutal outrages, had a large share in the condemnation of Lucas. But there was another and still more special charge against him.

This charge is thus alluded to by the noble biographer :—"Baker, in his account of these transactions, says that Fairfax alleged in his letter to Parliament, that Lucas had falsified his word to him ; adding, in a note, that 'this was alleged, but never proved.' It does not appear, however, by any copy of Fairfax's letter that he did make the allegation, or give any such reason for his conduct." * In Fairfax's letter to Lord Manchester, published by Rushworth, no such allegation is stated ; but as Rushworth did not publish all the letters transmitted to Parliament by Fairfax, the evidence on this point is defective. Not being able to find the allegation either in the letter to Lord Manchester, or in the "Short Memorial," the biographer concludes that no such allegation was ever made. "Fairfax's detail," he observes, speaking of the "Short Memorial," "enters into so many particulars [we must venture to suggest, on the contrary, that the Memorial is singularly crude and deficient in details], that it is impossible to believe he would accidentally have omitted such an event ; and as it was not published till *after* the time when he *is said to have accused Lucas of his want of*

* Memoir, p. 64.

honour, it must be looked upon as certain that he never did so charge him."* A book published by Mr. Sprigge, Fairfax's chaplain, in which the writer speaks of Lucas as a "soldier of *reputation* and valour," is cited in proof of the fact that the charge, even if it were made, was false. Is it possible, asks the biographer, that he (Sprigge) would have assigned this character "to one whom he had reason to believe capable of '*forfeiting his parole, his honour, and his faith?*' The book," he continues, "was published in 1647; before the charge was alleged to have been made (1648), but *long after* the time when the circumstances which alone could have given rise to it, had occurred, and when the accuracy or falsehood of any rumour must have been fully verified."† Now this evidence, granting all the circumstances assumed, does not really affect the point at issue. Sprigge might have been wholly ignorant of the fact that Lucas was out upon parole. Or, knowing the fact that he was out on parole, and not knowing that he had broken his parole (which as shall be shown presently, he could not have known) he may have had no reason for speaking otherwise of him than as a soldier of reputation. But, whether he knew the fact or not, it appears to have escaped the acute discrimination of the noble biographer that the dates upon which he relies in this negative testimony in favour of Lucas, distinctly prove that Mr. Sprigge's book cannot be admitted in evidence at all. The book was pub-

* Memoir, p. 65. † Ib. p. 66.

lished in 1647—Lucas's violation of his parole took place in 1648, at the rising in Essex, when he joined the Earl of Norwich and led the troops to Colchester; so that when Mr. Sprigge pronounced Lucas to be a "soldier of *reputation*," Lucas had not committed the act which disentitled him to that honourable designation. Sprigge, therefore, must be put out of court. The noble biographer, however, is not only convinced, on Sprigge's testimonial to character, that the charge was false, but asserts his belief that no such charge was ever made by Fairfax. "In addition," he observes, "to the want of foundation for such a charge, there is every reason to believe that such a message *never was sent by Fairfax*, independent of the fact of his own silence on the subject. * * * * Supposing, for argument's sake, that an insulting answer from Fairfax to Lucas had been suppressed by the latter, it is impossible to believe that it would long have remained unknown."* This argument is extremely reasonable; but if it can be shown that the "insulting answer" not only did not remain long unknown, but that it was made known immediately after it was sent, the argument falls to the ground.

Let us now turn to Rushworth. Under the date of the 20th June, upwards of two months before the surrender of the town, so that the besieged had ample notice of Lord Fairfax's opinions on this matter, we have the following record of the substance of letters from Colchester read before the House of Commons.

* Memoir, p. 67.

"Sir Charles Lucas sent a Trumpet, proposing an exchange for prisoners, but offering private men for officers and gentlemen, it was rejected. The Lord General sent his letter to Colchester, to acquaint them, that Sir Charles Lucas had forfeited his parole, and therefore not capable of command or trust in martial affairs: to this an answer, or rather excuse was returned."* The answer, or excuse, is not given; but here is indisputable proof that within seven days from the day when he summoned the town to surrender, Lord Fairfax distinctly charged Sir Charles Lucas with having broken his parole, and that the fact was immediately afterwards announced in the House of Commons, and, it is to be presumed, published in the usual way through the "diurnals." If this statement on the subject in Rushworth be not in itself considered final, the following letter, the original of which has been preserved amongst the Fairfax Correspondence, places the fact beyond all further controversy. It is the "answer," or "excuse," sent by Sir Charles Lucas in reply to the charge made against him by Fairfax.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

In your letter sent by your trumpeter to my Lord Capel, and another from your lordship to myself, you make exceptions to him concerning me, as being a prisoner still

* Rushworth, P. IV. Vol. II. p. 1160.

unto your lordship. Sir, I wonder that you should question me of any such engagement, since I purchased my freedom and estate at a high rate, by a great sum of money, which I paid into Goldsmiths' Hall, for which, according to the ordinances of the two Houses, I was to enjoy my freedom and estate.

When I conceived myself in this condition, I sent a letter to your secretary, desiring him to advertise your lordship that I had punctually performed my engagements as they stood in relation to your lordship. Upon which I had notice from him that you accepted of my respects to you, which, truly, have never been wanting to your person. But, my lord, besides my inclinations and duty to the service I am in at present, be pleased to examine whether the law of nature hath not instigated me to take my sword again into my hand, for when I was in peaceable manner in London, there was a price set upon me by the Committee of Derby House, upon which I was constrained to retire myself into my own country, and to my native town, for refuge, where, my lord, I do remain, not your prisoner, but

Your lordship's very humble servant,

CHARLES LUCAS.

Colchester, June the 19*th*, 1648.

This answer is important in two points of view. In the first place, it admits the fact, which seems to be more or less disputed, that Sir Charles Lucas had been a prisoner and under engagement of some kind, to Lord Fairfax—"You make exceptions concerning me, as being a prisoner *still* unto your lordship;" and in the second place, it sets up a defence for having again

taken arms in the royal service, upon the validity of which the charge of having broken his parole must stand or fall.

No doubt exists that Lucas was made prisoner at the battle of Marston Moor. His biographer admits the fact, adding that "circumstances, now for ever lost, *may* have given rise to some report of the nature which Whitelock and Rushworth [alluding to the passage just quoted] have recorded." This is not clear. The statement in Rushworth is not a vague report, but an explicit statement of a charge publicly made by Lord Fairfax. Now it is not very probable that Lord Fairfax would have made such a charge without being able to substantiate it if required; and it is a mere begging of the question to attempt to set aside the charge because no proofs can now be traced of the circumstances under which the parole was entered upon. Proofs of that nature are superfluous. It is quite enough for all purposes to establish the fact, that Lucas had been Lord Fairfax's prisoner, since, according to the usage which invariably prevailed in such cases, he could not have regained his liberty on any other conditions than a pledge not to bear arms again against the Parliament. The parole is an inevitable corollary from the fact of having been taken in arms, and subsequently liberated.

Sir Charles Lucas's justification on the ground of having "purchased his freedom" is altogether untenable. The transaction at Goldsmiths' Hall simply ransomed his estate, but no more invested him with the right of

bearing arms against the Parliament than of committing any other act in open violation of their authority. This part of the case is too obvious to need argument or illustration. The composition for his estate was nothing more than an indemnity for the past, but clearly had no reference to the future, or all gentlemen who compounded in like manner would have been equally at liberty to re-enter the royal service, a proceeding which would have again placed their estates in the same jeopardy from which they had just redeemed them.

Upon the whole, it may be fairly assumed that Lord Fairfax was justified in adopting the sentence of the Court, which confirmed the view he had himself expressed, when, so far back as June, he gave Lucas notice that he held him responsible for having forfeited his parole, his honour, and his faith, and that he considered him incapable of being treated with. But the question cannot be carried any farther. Posterity will pronounce its own judgment, according to its own lights, upon all such questions. It by no means follows that the course which is prescribed or defended by no higher warrant than military law or usage, is, therefore, the most just or wise; and there can be no hesitation in closing the consideration of this case by an expression of regret at the imperious necessity which controlled its tragical issue. That this necessity was felt by the Parliament, as it was by Lord Fairfax, is shown in the subsequent condemnation and execution of Lord Capel, who with

Goring and others was reserved by his lordship to be dealt with by the Parliament.

The surrender of Colchester was contemporaneous with the victorious movements of Cromwell in Lancashire. The following letter gives a rapid view of the famous battle of Preston. It is without a signature, but bears internal evidence of having been written by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had recently seized Berwick and Carlisle, and, flushed with flying conquests and a reinforcement of Yorkshire recruits, had hastened to the Western Border to join the Scotch army under Duke Hamilton. At the time when this letter was written the whole force of the Royalists had been scattered like chaff at Preston; and Langdale, endeavouring to make his escape as he could, and leaving his broken troops to shift for themselves, was made prisoner, as he tells us, and lodged in Nottingham Castle.

Sir,

This will give you a final account of my employment, which is now ended, being a prisoner in Nottingham Castle, where I have civil usage. You have heard the condition I was in at Settle and Gigleswick, with about 3000 foot and 600 horse, the 13th of August, where, hearing the Parliament forces were gathered together, and marching towards me, I went to acquaint Duke Hamilton therewith to Hornby, when he determined to march to Preston, where his army, being numerous in foot, he might have the greatest advantage upon his enemy in these inclosed countries. I marched near Clitherow towards Preston; in the march I

met with my Lord Calender, and divers of the Scottish officers quartered in my way, with whom it was resolved to march to Preston; but for the present the intelligence was that the Parliament forces were divided, some part whereof were marched to Colne, and so to Manchester, to relieve that town in case we should press upon it; this made the officers of horse more negligent in repairing to Preston, but quartering wide in the country. The same night certain intelligence came that Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with all his forces, was within three miles of my quarters, which I immediately sent to the Duke, and told my Lord Leviston to acquaint Lieutenant-General Middleton therewith, and drew my forces together in a field, and so marched towards Preston betimes in the morning, where I found the Duke and Lord Calender, with most of the Scottish foot drawn up; their resolution was to march to Wigan, giving little credit to the intelligence that came the night before; but suffered their horse to continue in their quarters ten or twelve miles off within half an hour of our meeting, and by that time I was drawn into the closes near Preston; the enemy appeared with a small body of horse; the Scots continued their resolution for Wigan, for which end they drew their foot over the bridge. The enemy coming the same way that I had marched, fell upon my quarters, where we continued skirmishing six hours, in all which time the Scots sent me no relief; they had very few horse, so as they sent me but few, which were soon beaten. I defended the pass with various success many times, gaining ground of the enemy, and as the Scots acknowledge, they never saw any foot fight better than mine did. The Duke being incredulous that it was the whole army, sent Sir Lewis Dives to me, to whom I answered it was impossible any forces which were inconsiderable would adventure to press

upon so great an army as we had, therefore he might conclude that it was all the power they could make, with which they were resolved to put all to the hazard: when I desired I might be seconded, and have more powder and ammunition. The Scots continued their march over the river, and did scour a lane near the bridge, whereby the Parliament forces came upon my flank; neither did the forces that were left for my supply come to my relief, but continued in the rear of mine: when most of the Scots were drawn over the bridge, the Parliament forces pressed upon me in van and flanks, and so drove me away into the town, where the Duke was in person, with some few horse; but all being lost, retreated over a ford to his foot. After my forces were beaten, the Parliament forces beat the Scotch from the bridge presently, and so came over into all the lanes, that we could not [rally] with the foot, but were forced to [retreat to Wigan] where we found Lieutenant-General Middleton, ready to advance towards Preston to the foot, which he did; but not finding the foot there, retreated towards Wigan, where the Duke was with his foot; mine totally lost; there they took a resolution to go to my Lord Byron, for which end they would march that night to Warrington. In their march, the Parliament forces fell so fast upon their rear that they could not reach Warrington that night; and Lieutenant-General Middleton, finding himself unable to withstand their forces, left the foot in Warrington to make their own conditions, so as we marched towards Malpas; six of the Scottish lords in this march left us, whereof my Lord Traquair was one; most part submitted to the Sheriff of Shropshire, and they sent two gentlemen of that country to the Duke, to offer him the same quarter that the Earl of Traquair had. From Malpas we marched to Drayton, and so to Stone; in our march from

thence, the Parliament forces fell upon the rear, and took Lieutenant-General Middleton. The next morning, going to attend the Duke for his resolution, I found him extremely sick, not able to march; my Lord Calender seemed to refuse all wait of treaty, but rather to march northwards, where we had a considerable force, and the whole kingdom of Scotland at our backs; upon this we marched over the river. I had the van, and was marching:—presently my Lord Calender came to me, told he would march with me, but none of his forces would, and that he had much ado to escape them; that he was come with himself alone, his horse pricked in the foot, without cloak. I persuaded his lordship that it was better to return to his forces, because I could not protect him, seeing the Scots had left me. I was resolved to sever and shift every man for himself; but to capitulate I could not with a safe conscience. After some little discourse he returned to his forces and I marched towards Nottingham, where those few I had took several ways, and I got that night over Trent, and came to a house six miles from Nottingham, where myself, Colonel Owen, Lieutenant-Colonel Gallard, and Major Constable thought to have shrouded ourselves and so made no resistance, but were discovered, and so are in Nottingham Castle.*

August 26th, 1648.

The manner in which poor Sir Marmaduke was pounced upon is related in full by Mrs. Hutchinson, and makes a tolerably striking, half-humorous, half-miserable, melodramatic episode in the grand narrative of this resuscitated war. "Sir Marmaduke Langdale,"

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

says Mrs. Hutchinson, "after the rout of Hamilton, came with two or three other officers to a little alehouse which was upon Colonel Hutchinson's land, and there were so circumspect, that these country fellows who saw them by chance, suspecting they were no ordinary travellers, acquainted Mr. Windmerpoole, who lived within two or three miles, and had been Major to the Colonel [Hutchinson] in the first war; whereupon he came forth, with some few others, and sent down to the Colonel to acquaint him that some suspicious persons were at the lodge. The Colonel, hearing of it, took his servants out, and some approaching near the house, when Major Windmerpoole, being beforehand in the house, had given Langdale some jealousy that he might be surprised; thereupon one of his company went out to fetch out his horses, which were stopped for the present, and they seeing the Colonel coming up towards them, rendered themselves prisoners to Major Windmerpoole, and were sent to Nottingham Castle, where they continued some months, till at last Langdale, finding an opportunity, corrupted one of the guard, who furnished him with a soldier's disguise, and ran away with him."* The subsequent fortunes of Sir Marmaduke are unknown. He was one of the seven who, in the November of the present year, were excepted from pardon; on which occasion he fled with more success than when he hid himself in the alehouse. He fled into total oblivion. The Colonel Owen who was taken with

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

him has been confounded with the Sir John Owen on whose behalf (because he was friendless and had nobody to speak for him) Colonels Hutchinson and Ireton interceded, obtaining a commutation of his sentence to banishment. But they were different persons, for at the time when the Colonel was taken prisoner with Langdale, Sir John was shut up in Windsor Castle, awaiting his trial for high treason. Concerning the other fugitive, Lieutenant-Colonel Gallard, history is silent.

The contagious spirit of popular revolt was, perhaps, never more strikingly illustrated than in the incidents which were occurring in Paris during this period. We have a minute account of them in letters from Sir Richard Browne, addressed, probably, to De Vic. The barricades alluded to are those of the Fronde, a reproduction of the barricades of the League, presenting the same features of suddenness and decision, and of complete calm when the work was done, which have been re-enacted so circumstantially in our own times. Much the same sort of struggle which was drawing to its conclusion in England, was now going forward in France between the Queen-Regent and the Parliament. Dismayed by the success of the English people, the Regent was beginning to give way, when the unexpected victory of Lens inspired her with fresh courage, and, imagining that despotism was once more secure under the laurels of Condé, she rapidly seized the persons of six * of the most popular members of the

* Sir Richard Browne mentions only two.

Assembly. This violent act was instantly followed by one of those revolutions in the streets which, in later times, have hurled dynasties in three hours from the throne. Even Sir Richard Browne is so impressed by the extraordinary rapidity of the re-action, that while he feels it to be "a dangerous thing to let the many-headed monster know its strength," he is compelled to confess, that "the safety of a Prince consists more in the love of his people than in the steel, or number of his guards." Great must have been the force of the events which wrung this apothegm from courtly Sir Richard!

In that passage of his letter which describes the return of the Parliamentary deputies to the Queen with a fresh demand from the barricades, he omits to mention that the Queen of England was present. Whether the example of the calamities which she and her family were at that moment enduring, in consequence of their infatuated resistance to public opinion, had any effect, does not appear; but we may infer so, from the only observation she is said to have made, that "the troubles in London were never more passionate nor more alarming." The situation of all parties concerned at this interview was highly dramatic: one Queen capitulating for her safety with an embassy from the people, in the presence of another Queen who was exiled for refusing to entertain similar appeals. A single false step—the slightest exhibition of obstinacy—a rash word, would have reduced the Royalty of France to the same forlorn condition.

SIR R. BROWNE TO ———

SIR,

THE Prince of Condé's victory, mentioned in my last, proves true; the second advices having not only confirmed, but improved the first report; for though the French were a third less in number, yet there were in this battle (now called the battle of Lens) thirty-eight pieces of cannon taken, with the carriages and ammunition thereunto belonging, the most part of their baggage, 120 ensigns and cornets, 500 officers, amongst whom General Beck (since dead of his wounds at Arras), the Prince of Ligny, general of the horse, the Count de St. Amour, who commanded a brigade, Beck's son, and divers others of quality, 3000 killed upon the place, and 5000 prisoners taken; a particular relation of all which is here amply set out in print.

This victory hath certainly been one of the most wonderful and opportune successes that the French have had since this war. The consequences whereof would doubtless prove of great advantage to this Crown—if a domestic cloud obscure not the glory of this foreign triumph; for on Wednesday last a *De profundis* was improvidently begun in the town whilst the King and Queen were at Nôtre Dame celebrating the *Te Deum*, under pretence whereof the Guards being, according to custom, disposed in the way between the Palais Cardinal and the Church, this opportunity was made use of for seizing of Monsieur de Brussells and Monsieur de Blameny, two of the forwardest members of the Parliament in their late undertaken work of reformation, who being violently surprised in their houses, and carried away prisoners, the people began instantly to rise, to draw the chains,

and to unpave and barricade the streets, in such sort that after the King's return from church the Guards were dispersed in several parts of the city, and that night the bourgeois held council, and so combined, that the next morning they stopped the Chancellor's coach as he went to interdict the Parliament, and forced him to save himself in the Duke de Luyne's house, near the Pont St. Michael, which they violently and tumultuously entered and pillaged, but missed the Chancellor, who was hid under a bed, (or, as some say, in a cupboard,) from whence Marshal de La Meilleray, with some companies of the Guard, rescued and conducted him to the Palais Cardinal, the Chancellor (by reason of the chains being drawn) marching in the middle of the Guards afoot, holding his square cap in his hand, and in this, his recovery, many on both sides lost their lives, amongst whom a Swiss Captain, and the Chancellor Exempt, and coachman. Hereupon the Parliament went to the Queen Regent with humble remonstrances, to redemand their members, who being by the Queen treated with high language, and dismissed unsatified, in their return coming to the first chain, not far from the Court gates, where the people stood in guard, and understanding that the restitution of the Parliament was denied, they were by the people sent back again to Court, and told that there was no entrance for them into the city, unless they prevailed in their demand, which after a long attendance (during which the Queen gave them a collation,) towards evening was granted unto them, upon condition that between this and their breaking up at the vintage vacation, they should handle only those three points, the tariff, the officers' wages, and the rents upon the town-house; and *lettres-de-cachet* were immediately expedited for the enlargement and bringing back of the members, who sat again

yesterday in Parliament, till performance whereof the whole town continued in arms, barricaded at every street; and as the people have had their will in this, they will, it is feared, proceed to higher demands, so dangerous a thing it is to let this many-headed monster know its own strength; and if the provinces (as it is thought they will) should rise, this so absolute and self-confiding government may by woful experience find that the safety of a Prince consists more in the love of his people than in the steel, or number of his Guards.

Yours of the 14th is safe arrived. I congratulate, &c.

R. B.

Paris, August 29th, 1648.

SIR R. BROWNE, AT PARIS, TO ———.

Sir,

Upon the return of Monsieur de Bruxelles, the foul weather here, mentioned in my last, began suddenly to clear up; all the Corps de Gardes, as he passed along, entertaining him with volleys of shot and acclamations, the people crying nothing but Vive le Roy et Monsieur de Bruxelles, and the women running out of their houses to salute and embrace him; whereupon the chains were presently let down, and the barricades taken away. Since when, the captains, sheriffs, and other officers of the City, and also the Corps de Marchands, have all been at the Palais Cardinal, to assure the Queen that their taking up arms and raising barricades was only in their own defence, and to secure the City from the violence and plunder of the meaner sort of people, who, being the greater number, are apt to lay hold of any occasion for rapine; which hath passed for so

good payment, that the Queen remains well satisfied, useth them very civilly, and gives them thanks for their so great and so unanimous care in the conservation and safety of the public. And truly it is admirable to consider so high a going sea should so suddenly be appeased, and how so many, and so sufficient barricades (far exceeding, as our cinquanters tell us, those of 588, in Henry the Third's time,) should in so few hours be erected and demolished. Some convulsions, it is true, have, since this hot fit appeared; and the people have taken an account, in writing, of every family which, upon the like occasion, shall be enjoined to furnish a man. But in outward show, here is now no other face but that of peace and quiet; and the Parliament doth work, forenoon and afternoon, upon three points,—the tariff, the officers' wages, and the town rents, and are (in regard the finances are now disordered, till they, by bringing their deliberations to maturity, settle some course for the coming in of the Crown revenue,) about to demand leave of the King to continue their session during this approaching vacation. The Chancellor is returned to his house; but Marshal de la Meilleraye keeps sanctuary in the Palais Cardinal, and talks of quitting his superintendancy, and retiring to his government, so guilty it seems he is of having irreconcileably exasperated the people.

The siege of Tournay is assured, (I hear it capitulates); and it is said Dixmunde is likewise invested by the Prince of Condé, who, for certain, forbore any new engagement, till he saw whether his army would not be useful here, and be commanded hither for the reduction of this city.

The taking of Cremona is still expected; but the French fleet, having lain many days near the Isle of Procyta, and finding no compliance or encouragement from the Neapoli-

tans, is returned to Porto Longone, from whence part is to be sent to Catalonia, where they hope for better success.

The Duke of Anjou is fallen sick of the small-pox. The prisoners of note, taken in the battle of Lens, are brought to the Bois de Vincennes.

An express hath newly brought the relation of a defeat the Marshal Rauzan should have given to M. Stendrate, near Tournay, wherein 1500 were taken prisoners, with three pieces of cannon.

The Queen, two days since, sent for the Parliament, and told them that it was her act alone, contrary to the opinion of her Council, to seize upon those members, and that she, being very well satisfied of their good intention to the King and State, willed them to proceed in what manner they pleased, and bring their good intentions to a happy end.

The yesterday's post not being yet come, I have received none from you this week, nor none from England, but one from W. Peters, which requires no answer.

I pray communicate this to Sir A. H. And let the Earl of Arundel know that I, yesterday, according to his lordship's commands, sent a post to Brussels, to his son, of which I here this day give his lordship an account in a letter. But as his lordship's came to me opened, so perhaps mine to his lordship may be intercepted. And, &c.

Sep. 5th, 1648.

A letter, upon English affairs, from one of Sir Richard Browne's correspondents, and another from Sir Richard touching upon French matters, throw more side lights upon the vital action of the times abroad and at home.

DE GARDE (PROBABLY A PSEUDONYME) TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

THE opportunity of sending now by a good hand, makes me huddle up a letter in great haste to give you the inclosed, made at adventure, and, in truth, copy of the one was forgot; but it is only half a dozen kind lines in behalf of Mr. ————, much to the substance of the recital in the other. Monday I shall have convenience of sending by another, for then the commissioners go up, if not stayed by a new prolongation, to the report of their work the —— and the —— last days. The sum this: the bishops and their lands, stood upon by the King, a form of service not insisted on, seeing the latitude of the directory. None suffered to lose life or estate for delinquency; some to be absented, if thought fit; the rest that they may compound, and desired it may be easily. The like for new delinquents. None to be their councillors, judges, or other officers, but by consent of both Houses. Lord Ormond written to by the King to desist in Ireland, as the two Houses here have desired; and if he refuse, a declaration then to follow, as now demanded. This ————will note, and make quick use of. Yet the King keeps a good heart for the Marquis of Ormond. By my next you shall have, I hope, Mr. Fanshawe's business. P. W. will write, who stays (as doth N. O.) by order of the King, as long as may be. A prolongation is supposed may come for some Scottish concernments. I write you no London news, but am, sir, your humble servant,

DE GARDE.

November 26th, 1648.

SIR R. BROWNE TO ———.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the late long conferences at Munster, between Monsieur de Serment and the Monsieur Le Brun, seems to give some hopes of a peace between the two Crowns, yet they here begin their vigorous preparations for the next campaign, towards the expense whereof Mademoiselle de Le Meilleraye pretends to have already got five-and-thirty of the fifty millions designed; and the Parliament goes briskly on in their pretended reformation, having lately given an arrest for the revocation of all the King's demesne lands engaged to particular persons: another forbidding the taking to farm the tailles, or contracting with the King for them by way of advance: a third for reduction of the comptants to three millions a-year: and a fourth, that no money should be raised upon the subject by virtue of any edicts not first verified in Parliament. Cardinal Mazarin hath been a little indisposed with a swelling in his foot, since the great feast he made a week since to all the princes, among whom the Duke de Mercure, whose father hath leave to roam to Mercure in Auvergne, and there reside, and not elsewhere. One Machon, Archdeacon of Toule, a learned man that heretofore lived in the Chancellor's house, is taken and imprisoned, for having counterfeited the Broad Seal. Monsieur D'Avaux, by some pensions, and by making a nephew of his captain in the regiment of Guards, is recompensed for his superintendent's place. The Abbé de la Riviere is Ministre d'Etat.

R. B.*

Paris, November 28th, 1648.

* All these letters connected with Sir R. Browne, are from Mr. Bentley's Collection.

In the subsequent transactions of this year, labouring with the great catastrophe which brought the struggle to a close on the scaffold, Lord Fairfax bore an important part. The main facts may be thus rapidly noted.

Parliament had rescinded their votes against holding further negociation with the King, and agreed to enter upon the personal treaty demanded by his Majesty. The residence at Carisbrook was rendered more agreeable to the royal prisoner, who was permitted to ride about the island on his own personal engagement to Colonel Hammond, and then removed to the house of Sir William Hodges at Newport, where he held his court, if not with the pomp, at least with the semblance of regality, ceremoniously receiving the commissioners appointed to treat with him, retiring from time to time into his closet with his three privy councillors, and issuing letters to the sheriff of London in the usual state form, as if they came from Whitehall or Windsor.* In the midst of this short gleam of kingly show, there was an incident which shook the superstitious heart of the multitude. Lilly, in his book of Astrological Predictions, published about this time, foretold that if his Majesty were suffered

* Rushworth, p. 1272. Looking a little in advance, the reader is struck with feelings of profound pity by his Majesty's letter to "Our trusty and well-beloved Richard Brown, sheriff elect," dated "From our Court at Newport," desiring him to use his best endeavours to obtain the reprieve of the two sons of his Majesty's haberdasher, who were under sentence of death for robbery. Confident in his power to the last! and how that power is shattered by the reception of this royal letter in the Commons—"The Commons ordered, 'That the said prisoners be left to the justice of the Law!'"

to be at liberty there would be danger to his person by inordinate horsemanship [symbolical, doubtless, of all other inordinatenesses], or by some fall from on high. The prophecy was literally fulfilled on the spot, as its larger meaning was afterwards realised at Whitehall. "Riding down a steep hill," says a private letter, "his Majesty's bridle broke, and the horse ran down with him, to the great terror of the beholders; but God be praised, his exquisite skill in riding (but Providence chiefly) prevented him." If his skill had enabled him to manage his treaties as well as his horses, it might have preserved him from the worse dangers that lay yet before him.

The progress of the treaty was slow; his Majesty's answers were dilatory, and, for the greater part, as usual, unsatisfactory. But Parliament in rescinding its resolution to trust no more to his Majesty's good faith, had abandoned the high ground which they had won at such expenditure of blood and suffering, and were willing to yield up all the advantages they had gained at the moment when they had secured the means of dictating the rights and liberties for which they had struggled. It was finally resolved to accept his Majesty's "condescensions," as his answers were called.

The whole of these proceedings were in direct opposition to the solemn Remonstrance of the army; and Fairfax found it necessary once more to take the affairs of the kingdom into his own keeping. His first step was to supersede Hammond, and direct him to attend at

the head-quarters of the army at Windsor. Parliament countermanded this order, and desired him to remain where he was. But Hammond saw the line of his duty clearly, and repaired at once to Windsor. The next movement was to secure the person of the King. Troops were ordered into the Isle of Wight, the King's house surrounded, and his Majesty conveyed in his coach to Hurst Castle. This primary object gained, Fairfax advanced upon London, giving notice to the authorities that he should immediately require the payment of the arrears due to the soldiery.

Settling down, like a sudden shower of swords, in St. James's, Whitehall, Palace Yard, and the suburbs, the army was now in a position to carry out "its own demands." The City Trained Bands were removed from the service of Parliament, and the doors were guarded by regular troops under the command of Colonel Rich and Colonel Pride. All history is familiar with Pride's Purge. It was the most effectual of drastics. Forty-one members—"incendiaries" to a man, and amongst them some of the disabled Eleven who had been re-admitted into the house in defiance of the order for their expulsion, and through whose influence the Commons had been recently warped from its course—were seized and lodged at a house in Westminster called "Hell," and from thence drafted into two inns in the Strand, the King's Head and the Swan, where they were placed under a guard. Other members were warned not to attempt to take their seats. In vain the Commons

appointed Committees to confer with the army. Unspeakable consternation prevails in-doors and out-doors; and in the height of the terror, through which nothing is clear but the steadfastness of the army, Cromwell comes to town crowned with victory from the North.

The House of Commons, relieved by Fairfax for the second time from faction and divided councils, proceeded eagerly to the vindication of its independence. The rescinding votes were in turn rescinded. The personal treaty was annulled. It was declared that all ceremonies of state hitherto observed towards the King, even to presentations on the knee, should be abolished; and an ordinance was passed for attainting his Majesty of High Treason, and for trying him by a Commission to be appointed for that purpose.

Towards the close of December this great question was in debate between the two Houses. The Lords, appalled at the close approach of the popular power arrayed against hereditary dignities and divine right, hesitated and demurred. The King, in the meanwhile, stripped of attendance, despoiled of all royal state and circumstance, and reduced to the plain style and title of Charles Stuart, awaits the issue under durance in Windsor Castle; and the curtain of the year falls upon a scene of intense suspense and agitation, to rise in a few days upon the solemn tribunal in Westminster Hall, where the King stands at the bar to answer to the indictment which charges him with high treason against the liberties of the country.

1649—1651.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.

LORD FAIRFAX RETIRES FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

POLITICAL GOSSIP.

BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

PRINCE CHARLES ESCAPES TO FRANCE.

1649—1651.

The trial of the King was the act of the Commons. The Lords rejected the ordinance, and the Commons carried it out without them. The case was new, and new forms were called into existence for its adjudication.

Heretofore when differences arose between the two Houses, the questions in debate became the subject of negociation, or were resumed in the Chamber where they originated, and sent back again. Up to this hour, the Commons had been tender of these usages ; and had shown on more than one occasion, a scrupulous anxiety to protect the privileges of the Lords. But they now no longer affected even to deliberate upon the vote of the Upper House. A crisis had arrived in which established usages, the types of unity of action in the Legislature, were over-ruled by a paramount necessity :—one of those crises which demand the suspension of old institutions to facilitate some indispensable violation of the law. The Commons at once trampled down all precedents, shook off the Lords, and forming themselves into a "Grand Committee," agreed to the following Resolutions without a single dissentient voice. In these Resolutions we have the first authentic

enunciation of the principle, THAT THE PEOPLE ARE THE SOURCE OF ALL POWER.

Resolved:—That the Commons of England in Parliament assembled do declare, That the People, under God, are the original of all just Powers.

They do likewise declare, That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the supreme authority of this Nation.

They do likewise declare, That whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, hath the force of law, and all the People of this Nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.

Under the power and authority thus declared, the House proceeded to the appointment of Commissioners to constitute a High Court of Justice "for trying and judging Charles Stuart, King of England." At the head of the list of Commissioners stood the name of Thomas, Lord Fairfax.

The Commissioners were called together on the 8th January. Lord Fairfax was present at that meeting. Proclamation was ordered to be made of the next sitting. The precept authorising the proclamation was not signed by Lord Fairfax. He never attended again.

Several preliminary sittings were afterwards held for ordering the manner of the trial, which opened in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, on the 19th. It was

on this occasion that Lady Fairfax interrupted the proceedings of the Court when the name of her husband was called over, by declaring "that he had more wit than to be there;" adding in a loud voice, "that the proceeding had not the consent of half the people of England, and that Oliver Cromwell was a traitor." *

The opinions of Lord Fairfax in reference to these proceedings were undisguised, and he took the earliest and most conspicuous opportunity of making them known. His position was one of peculiar difficulty. Acting upon the remonstrance of the army, which had for its object the vindication of the liberties of the people through the independence of the Legislature, he cleared the House of Commons of the Malignants who had hitherto succeeded in fettering its free action and confounding its councils. Forty-one were swept away at a single motion; in a few days others were arrested or driven from the doors; upwards of a hundred altogether. The House was no sooner relieved from its incubus, than it rose to an ascendancy never contemplated within the scope of Fairfax's design. The waters were loosened, and no human power could stay the flood. He who

* Fairfax Correspondence, I. cv. In the "Memorials of English Affairs," dated 22nd January, 1648 [9], we find the following account of this scene. "There were strict guards, many souldiers, and a great press of people at the trial of the King. The House sat only to adjourn. Some who sat on the scaffolds about the Court at the trial (particularly the Lady Fairfax, the Lord General's wife), did not forbear to exclaim aloud against the proceedings of the Court, and the irreverent usage of the King by his subjects, insomuch that the Court was interrupted, and the souldiers and officers of the Court had much to do to quiet the ladies and others."

had, hitherto, controlled the army and preserved the Parliament, was now himself coerced by both.

The Court established for the trial of the King was unknown to the constitution of this country. Dimly as the constitution was defined in those days, one thing at least was certain, that the Commons had never possessed or exercised any separate power, judicial or legislative, apart from the Lords. The proceeding was a revolution in itself. One estate of the realm was extinguished in the person of the King, who was a prisoner, and was conveyed to the place of trial in a boat guarded by musketeers. The House of Lords was shut up. The Commons in the name of the People, usurped the whole functions of the State. Fairfax nominally at the head of the army, was really powerless, and suffered himself to be made the passive instrument of acts which his judgment and his conscience disapproved. Orders which he never saw were issued in his name; measures against which he protested, were executed under the assumed sanction of his authority. His apology for adopting a line of conduct which so gravely compromised his personal credit was, that he submitted to one evil to avert a worse. Had he withdrawn from his command at this moment the consequences must undoubtedly have been serious, and would have plunged the kingdom into greater distractions than ever. A portion of the army would have followed him under any circumstances; the Royalists would have risen afresh; and the emotion of pity and sympathy with which the

people were beginning to be touched by the misfortunes of the Sovereign, would have broken out into demonstrations which neither Parliament nor Army could hope to appease. It was true, as Lady Fairfax courageously asserted in the face of the tribunal, that not half the people of England approved of the Bill of Attainder. The slightest excuse would have drawn out the latent remorse, the generous doubts, the desire for pardon and oblivion of the past, which lay in the heart of the people. On the other hand, the general body of the army, goaded by wrongs and insults, and impatient for such fierce restitution as the fiercest of measures alone could procure, were eager for extremities. At the first defection in an influential quarter, faction would have sprung into renewed activity, the popular party would have been instantly broken up ; the army, rent by divisions, would have convulsed the kingdom by a Servile War ; and, without an intelligible principle to espouse on any side, the horrors of the last five years would have been re-enacted with tenfold violence, recklessness, and confusion. Fairfax saw the difficulties of his position, and shrank from the responsibility of a step which must have precipitated such results. His friends in Parliament urged upon him the prudential course which he deemed it his duty to follow. They had their own objects to serve, and he was so entirely uninfluenced by motives of personal ambition, that he was easily persuaded to sacrifice himself to the repose of his country. He desired earnestly to retire from his

command ; but it would have exposed him to misconstructions which he held to be fraught with imminent danger ; and he continued at the head of the troops till the dismal tragedy was over, and the helm of the State had passed into other hands. "So long as I acted their designs," he tells us, "I might have attained to what height of power and other advantages I pleased."* This was what he dreaded. On that famous day when the House of Commons was invested, and Pride's infantry filled Westminster Hall, the sceptre was within his reach. On that day he was the foremost man in England. He was the idol of the army, who had it in their power to bear down all obstacles, and who *did* bear down all obstacles, notwithstanding his secession. His forbearance in both directions looks like weakness and inconsistency ; yet it must be allowed that the motives by which he was governed are entitled to consideration. It is by no means certain that if he had openly resisted the Commons he could have saved the Monarchy ; but it is quite certain that if he had saved it by such means he would have restored the deposed tyranny in greater strength than ever, exulting in its victory over popular principles, and devoting its recovered power to the gratification of a wide and sanguinary revenge. Such was the dilemma in which Fairfax stood. Instead of meeting, he avoided its difficulties ; and in that hour of England's greatest peril he vanished from the page of history.

* Short Memorial.

Retaining his shadowy command of the army until after the execution of the King, and, still unwilling to interfere publicly with actions which he could neither control nor modify, he satisfied his honour by protests in the Council Chamber, and then, overwhelmed by the Regicides, he relinquished his commission, and retired to his estate at Nun Appleton, where he lived in obscurity throughout the term of the Commonwealth. The suddenness of his eclipse was the most remarkable incident in his life—more remarkable than the piled-up glory of his breathless triumphs. He carried into his retreat the memory of a brilliant military career, a body scarred with wounds, and a pure conscience. No man, having such opportunities of personal aggrandisement, ever came out of them with cleaner hands. To him his country was mainly indebted for the vindication of its liberties —he owed his country nothing. The course which he took upon the King's trial is open to much discussion; but the worst that can be said of it is, that he faltered at a time when decision, either way, might have precipitated the ruin of the cause to which he was devoted. Fairfax was a Soldier, not a Statesman; and when the scene of action was removed from the entrenched field to the Painted Chamber, his genius was perplexed and baffled by elements with which he was unfit to deal.

Throughout these years of retirement, from 1649 to the Restoration, the Fairfax Correspondence is silent upon public affairs. The Parliamentary General had wholly withdrawn himself from the strife, and even its

echoes hardly reached him in his retreat, where physical ailments, the legacies of war, gave him occupation enough. But we are enabled, from other sources, to supply some original letters, which afford occasional illustrations of the history of the interval.

The following relate chiefly to the affairs of Ireland, and are full of curious details respecting the movements of the Royalists. We have here, also, some specimens of that cypher writing which was adopted in their secret correspondence.

THOMAS TALBOT TO ———.*

SIR,

I HAD more often presented my humble service unto you, but that these four months his Majesty is expected here; but now that Sir James Preston goeth hither with some dispatches, I should have much wronged myself and injured you had I not made some acknowledgment for the many obligations and favours you have been pleased to honour me with; and if in my power, or of any with whom I have credit here, we can serve you with much affection and reality, you may command us all,—which, when God will be pleased that we shall meet in this kingdom, I will endeavour to make demonstrations of my so great desire to serve you.

Sir James Preston is one who extremely deserved to be countenanced and favoured by his Majesty; for I can assure you he hath done several acceptable services, which, because already known, and by others—of greater credit than I am of—expressed, I will omit the particulars; only 'tis well

* Probably Sir Edward Nicholas.

known, had not his father, General Preston, and himself, laboured so faithfully to advance the King's service here, this kingdom had been in a very sad condition, and the work could not come to that perfection; and his Majesty will, God willing, find it at his arrival in this kingdom, which, I pray God, may be with all possible speed. I doubt not but that his Majesty will take to his consideration their services, and what hath been promised to them by the Lord-Lieutenant yielded to by his Majesty, with other advantages. I need not give you the trouble of any relation of mine, touching the state of this kingdom; for by the Lord-Lieutenant's dispatches, and by the relation of Sir James Preston, you will know more than I can advertise you. Notwithstanding, I can assure you I never could discover more resolution, more affection, and more emulation among all the considerable persons of this kingdom, to expose their lives and fortunes to restore his Majesty, and be revenged on the most brutish actors of so great and barbarous a villainy and parricide committed on so just and pious a king.

As for mine own particular, nothing troubles me more than that I am not in a condition to express mine own zeal to forward his Majesty's service; and, indeed, I have not been backward in any thing that came within the share of my activity, nor never will. I am appointed a Chaplain-General of the armies raised by the Roman Catholics; and I will undertake no lawless excommunications nor groundless censures shall have place in this army, to frighten the soldiers from their allegiance; neither shall any thing which might any way disadvantage the service—which might be occasioned by the malevolent and malignant party, which showed themselves adverse to his Majesty's Government, and may, by their secret plots and undermining, endeavour to

practise some foul design—be left undiscovered; for no such thing can be as much as thought of but I shall, some way or other, know it, and shall be a means to have it prevented.

I may give you, also, assurance of a great likelihood of a full and perfect settlement in this kingdom, and that suddenly. We long to see his Majesty here. I pray let nothing be admitted touching a voyage into Scotland; for this is the far more considerable nation, (and so considerable, when you will be here you will wonder how much some are deceived in their opinions of this nation), and have given to the world the far greater testimony of their loyalty. I conclude, wishing you all happiness, and that God may be pleased to send his Majesty safe into this kingdom, which will ever be the continual prayer of, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

THOMAS TALBOT.

Waterford, June 6th, 1649.

ANONYMOUS.

SIR,

I OWE you an account of each minute's stay in this place: and if my memory had not failed me in the most material part of your direction, it had not been omitted. I am sure my wishes can contribute nothing to you beyond what you do enjoy, you have so great an advantage already in the change of air. It will be of much satisfaction to me to receive the tidings of your welfare, and how, and by what name, and to what place, I am to continue my address to you. All considerations since you left us have been upon the Irish expedition. This inexhaustible magazine hath

furnished out great store of provisions, great sums of money, plate, furniture, and other things suitable to the state of a Lord-Lieutenant, whose greatest want is ships for the transportation of his men, who this week rendezvous at Milford, though it be doubted that the bad success of Colonel Monk and Owen Roe O'Neale may alter his councils. Dundalk and Carlingford being both delivered, in the former was found a great magazine of clothes, and a large proportion of powder, which was conceived to be very acceptable to that party. Owen Roe received the defeat upon his drawing up to Monk's relief, whose men forsaking him, and to the number of 500 foot and horse coming in to my Lord Inchiqueene, who performed this service, he only conditioned for his own freedom to come for England, and is since gone to give an account of this business to the Lord-Lieutenant; and his disaster at this season makes a great impression in the well affected, those parts lying upon the Scots' quarters, being at, as it is more than probably conceived, the places pretended for their landing, where they had some back and countenance.

Here hath been some stories about the delivery of the Isle of Man, but not believed.

July 30th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.*

My dear Friend,

This is the second I have adventured to you, partly out of an impatience to be informed of your safe arrival, and then to beg a line from you how and to what place I am to

* These letters of Mr. White's were probably addressed to Sir Richard Browne.

continue my address to you; but you want not a just and warrantable excuse for any neglect in this kind — only remember that you are not allowed your parole above a month. I may not divert your thoughts from your present contemplations, I should else tell you what a sensible miss Fleet-street hath of you, and then relate the great score of services that are given me in charge. Be assured that nothing can lessen the esteem of your friends, which hath so pure a foundation as your own virtue. But my present business is to tell you how strangely we are at this minute confounded with variety of stories, touching the relief of Dublin with men and ammunition. That some foot and horse were shipped for that service is certain, but of their safe landing or reception into the town is only grounded upon report; the contrary being more probable; in being conjectured they were designed for Dundalk, and shipped before the taking of it was known; these, joining with Monk and Owen O'Neale, might have made a considerable diversion, whilst Cromwell's forces made good their footing in some other parts of that kingdom; but being deceived in their design, they were, as it is believed, put upon a desperate hazard to land; and that, before their gaining of the town, they were met, and many cut off; but for this I find little warrant but conjecture, by application of circumstances. But the defeat given Owen O'Neale, and the taking of Dundalk with some hundreds of barrels of powder, 3000 suits, and several other provisions proportionable, you may build upon. The defeat of O'Neale's party was performed with 300 horse, under the command of Colonel M. Trevor, against 1200 foot and 300 horse; he is since made Governor of that town (Carlingford) and the county of Lowth, an excellent horse officer, and in election to be Lieutenant-General of the Lord of Ormond's horse. Monk,

soon after his arrival at Chester, went to the Lord-Lieutenant to Milford, where most of the forces are designed to be shipped, if his coming alter not their course and counsels. Vast quantities of money are sent hence daily with great convoys, and all designed for that expedition. The consults at home produce little of moment; great debates, and wise oppositions upon the matter of adjourning, which will not yet be carried. The present business is of putting a test or oath upon the clergy first, and then all officers, for conformity to the present government. The breach of the treaty, when given out to be so hopeful, hath struck a great damp on some, and raised the confidence of the men in power. The affairs of Scotland are best understood with you; it will require a belief above sense to expect any good thence. Let me bespeak your pardon for this haste, which must only justify me; and then let me subscribe myself,

Your faithful friend and servant,

THO. WHITE.

Temple Bar, August 2nd, 1649.

Be pleased to entertain this gentleman's acquaintance; and if you meet with anything material to be known, that you will communicate to him.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

IT is no small satisfaction to me to find by yours of the 21st, that mine are come to your hands; having not then received any direction from you for my address, you have been so just to me in your returns, that you may challenge

this as a debt; and I am resolved not to clear scores with you whilst I do continue my present station. I am sure that in my last I summed in short to you the story of the grand misfortune before Dublin; it may be some allay to it to tell you some reason for it, which in particular is alleged to be the escape of a town trumpeter from the camp, who encouraged the party to pursue the sally, when their business was no more than to beat up a new guard. It is agreed on all hands that 3000 were killed upon the place, and 1500 taken prisoners; and it is as certain that a considerable part of the army marched off entire and unbroken; the great loss fell upon Inchequeene's foot. Jones's horse were so broken in the business, as unabled to make the best advantage of their victory, which hath given my Lord of Ormond opportunity to rally, and by addition of his recruits grow into such a body as to be in condition to look upon the town again, which is the faith of the sanguine men he cannot want for numbers. Owen Roe O'Neale, the root of all this mischief, being immediately before this business come in, who endeavouring to make some disturbance in Munster, occasioned Inchequeene's drawing off with a body of horse, which was missed in the day of action. You know that what comes thence passes one way which puts us upon conjectures, and that begets variety of stories. Here they are very confident of the relief of Londonderry; and at this whole series of misfortune the Presbyter seems pleased, not so much out of kindness to the prevalent party, as a judgment he makes of a necessity now put upon our chief of a compliance with the brethren, with whom his interest is so involved, as he is not to be wrought to join with any third; which is sufficiently observed by his declaring against Ormond and his adherents, wherein Ards and Irish Scot are concerned. But if 246 do

succeed, he will *non novi vos;* and I may tell you he hath more than ordinary odds—they think they have little more to do than share stakes, which seems by the Lieut.-General Cromwell sending for his wife to meet him at Dublin, himself being ready to be shipped after many of his men. His business is looked upon as done to his hand, which puts them upon thoughts of magnificent entertainments suitable to his present quality and place, and that hath caused such preparation of plate, furniture, and other regalias. Jones's service is recompensed with 1000*l.* per annum. But I have dwelt too long upon this story, and you must cover my infirmity; for to deal truly with you, it hath made a very great impression in me; though I am not of their feeble faith whose confidence ebbs and flows according to accidents and events of fortune. You will find our pretended humility turned to arrogance, for now we stick not to give out, 7, 37, 27, 7, 1, 2, 31, 3, 5, 35, 1, 29, 31, 35, 1, 29, 5, 35, 6, 7, 31, 1, 30, 2, 50, 6, 34, 27, 37, 37, 13, 30, 27, 5, 31, 7, 2, 6, 34, 31, 37, 7, 31, 5, 7, 34, 31, 71, 36, 35, 1, 33, 26. From them I may improve this way upon practice, but you see by this we now resolve to stick at nothing. I shall be able to clear some doubts to you by my next, being now a little surprised. Your good opinion must justify me, which by all acts of friendship and civility I shall ever study to preserve. I have something to say in answer to some particulars in yours; be it only remembered you are not accountable to yourselves alone for what you do; and therefore such as are obnoxious to the vulgar opinion (though perhaps otherwise innocent) may not be so proper for the new model, and all that are qualified for employment *non possunt magnam conquere fortunam;* but I neither pretend to the morals or politics at this time, being in some hazard to lose the post. If my

noble friend the knight be upon the place, you are to advocate for me to him. I cannot excuse myself without believing him to be so good a husband as to be at Calais. Sir G. T. is your faithful servant; is constant to the old quarters of our friends. I put myself upon your mercy, for this hasty scribbling will need. Adieu to the next, and ever yours,

THOMAS WHITE.

I cannot meet with anything of that kind you mention; only I send you the close of one letter, which I doubt is not of that kind you seem to intend:

"That no prince in Christendom shall dare to shelter the King."

Aug. 16, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

SINCE the receipt of yours of the 21st, I summed up the late disaster before Dublin in one from me to you, which I conceive may prove so hard of digestion, that I have not heard from you by this return; your own judgment will upon scrutiny tell you the great change that will be wrought by it, as well to counsel as action. Some disorder discovered in the camp upon the sally encouraged the besieged to attempt it. The report both of the prisoners and the slain lessens, and some are here so incredulous as to affirm the town to be still besieged, which I conceive not to be very probable, now that Cromwell's army is at sea since the 14th of this month, there being then in readiness to the number of 130 sail, for

whom the wind hath served fair. If this blow had not come so seasonably they had fallen short of their numbers, so little stomach they seemed to have to this expedition; now it passes for no more than reaping the fruits of other men's labours. Colonel Jones is rewarded by the gift of 1500*l.* per annum out of confiscated estates, whereof one Bates' estate, in the province of Leinster, becomes to be a part. 7, 34, 315, 50, 2, 1, 31, 11, 9, 35, 37, 37, 30, 31, 37, 3, 72, 7, 34, 31, 5, in their work, by making purchase 2, 32, 6, 250, 31, 2, 32, 7, 34, 31, 33, 2, 2, 30, 73, 7, 2, 9, 1, 31, 6, 35, 1, 50, 2, 8, 1, 6, 7, 5, 26, as it is supected, upon no light grounds. If the course lie for Dublin, then have at the Scot in the north, who are looked upon as a colony, fit to be extirpated or transplanted, having little more than possession to fortify their title to the place. This hath made such an impression on the Lord of the Ards, that we hear he is returned and resolved to join, and making good his footing by joining with his countrymen. 173 was never so likely to be 3, 5, 2, 8, 35, 29, 35, 27, 7, 31, 30, 26, if they have not the grace to apprehend their concern in time. We hear of some message sent from Scotland to the King since this defeat, which, to speak to you in the Newcastle phrase, as it was written, put them into such a damp, as if they had been surprised by one in a coal-pit, which some conceive will put them upon you upon reasonable terms, and it is feared that, having thrown out at this stake, you may hearken to them; yet we go as far as we can, for discontenting and disobliging our friends, to satisfy that party. 95, 26, and a general pardon is to pass, in order to a compliance that way. We begin to divide and share stakes apace. The General is, upon Friday next, to have 4000*l.* per annum of the Duke of Buckingham's estate conferred upon him, and Colonel Martin 1000*l.* I must for this time close

with an account of your friend's health and welfare, reserving you to this parcel of Mr. Mayes' poetry. If it be answered, that may occasion a reply, but none here hath as yet undertaken it.

I am, your faithful servant,

THO. WHITE.

In my next you will be very like to hear of Cromwell landing.

August 20th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

OUR stock is grown so low that it will scarce keep up the trade of writing, our business being of two sorts; either the driving on the several ways of money, as that we owe much of our success to, or the right manage of the military power, which is found the more difficult part, so apt the soldiery are to be tainted with the levelling principles, wherein this place abounds so much, that considerations are taken at present to draw off the remaining parts of the army to a further distance, and supplying that force by an auxiliary of persons chosen, whose arms are to be provided by the abler sort, and carried by those as the more confiding. Some there are who conceive this remove to proceed from a necessity of further supplies for Ireland, the Lord of Ormond having rallied himself into a condition to face Dublin, though not to renew the siege. Of Ireton, and his attempts, or success, in Munster, we know nothing. Youghall was the place designed, but believed he was disappointed, if not deceived of his bargain, by one Peircy Smith

the Governor, an officer of the Lord Inchiquin's. Some further discourse we have of an encounter at sea upon that coast with loss to our friends. The Scots about Londonderry have played their game as they used to do, and been first to quit the siege, to which Owen O'Neale contributed much by a cessation made with the Coots, which we (now having served our turn) do declare scandalous, and absolutely disclaim; but since our last success, both there and at Dublin, we have this day a whispering of some backblow, which is no way improbable, for that Colonel Jones his forwardness engaged him too soon upon Tredaith before Ormond's army were sufficiently broken, who it seems attacked them in the rear before they could recover Dublin; but my next will give you more certainty. That which most imports your knowledge is the sense we have here of your prohibiting the importation of our cloth, which we so far stomach that we intend to quit scores with you by doing the like to your French wines. If this should end in a breach, it might very much hinder the settling of a very hopeful commonwealth. We still fear that the Scots, bating much of their high demands, and not involving the interest of England, or putting conditions upon you in reference to their party here, will be a strong motive to draw you to an agreement with them, which these friends, which are numerous effectually in the maritime towns, do very much gape, as giving them an opportunity to regain their power; for they see small hopes of any compliance from this way, there being a resolution of giving a general liberty to any man of parts to exercise the ministry, though they have not the seal of ordination. And then the abolition of tithes is no way scrupled, which makes the Presbytery very keen and bold in his language, and very vehement for an uniting with their

brethren, which is the only way of deliverance they propose to themselves; but I know this string is not to be touched—it will jar so much in some ears with you, and render those obnoxious that incline to that sense, and malice will be a rule when they have forfeited their reason. Where monarchy takes root, it soon grows to afford a shelter against sun and storms. We know there is one condition to keep you from writing, which here is called self-interest; but we are to be wise *in alienâ republicâ*. You have that within you that in all states and conditions will make you happy, which I desire may still receive new addition. I will not complain that I have not heard from you these four returns; and I doubt I may by my absence fail you the next, but never to approve myself,

Your most faithful and affectionate,

THOMAS WHITE.

Aug. 27, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

THE receipt of yours, both of the 1st and 4th, were by my former acknowledged, which afford so much of satisfaction, that I shall never balance the account. I must be still your debtor, what return soever I make. I find you are not planet-struck. I hope that unlucky affect is now over: it was only to put us in mind we were mortal,—our seeming success made us so apt to forget it. There is much life remaining in that game of Ireland, as may by several circumstances be collected. When a force of 4000 horse is acknowledged, that goes far to the making of a good army. No

matter of action as yet owned, and that attributed to their ill passage and slender provision, having continued above ten days at sea. My former mentioned a recruit of 6000 sent for, intended to be placed into such garrisons as shall be taken, for that must be but a winter work. You are not to expect much from that coast, orders being given against all private communication by letters.

I presume you will hear of a late proclamation, touching the importation of French wines. We expect to understand how you do resent it, which will not be much valued; for if 9, 31, 31, 30, 2, 31, 2, 8, 5, 28, 8, 6, 31, 1, 31, 6, 26, in 133, 236, 6, 2, 8, 37, 30, 35, 31, 5, 11, 74, say 11, 2, 8, 5, 7, 8, 5, 1, 31, will be 1, 31, 10, 7, 72, to be 6, 9, 27, 37, 2, 9, 31, 30, which is to be seasonably thought upon. In the mean time, all courses are to be put in practice, that make for the present power, so far as engagements to be taken from all persons in trust and office for their conformity, which as it is relished will come in course to others.

We hear of a message come, 238, 73, 37, that prays an assistance of foot and horse, upon apprehension of some fears from malignants, but yet do press for a proceeding against all such as have acted against the Covenant, which makes the meaning to be very mystical to such as understand the different inclinations, which agree only in this that, 236, 3, 27, 3, 35, 6, 7, 33, 232, 29, 34, 27, 8, 27, 37, 35, 31, 5, 71, are the sole 3, 31, 5, 6, 2, 1, 6, to be confounded. Here we talk of Rupert being at liberty by the advantage of these boisterous winds; and some losses are complained of. The most welcome tidings to you will be the welfare of your friends, who have entertained themselves with high solace in their several progresses. You enjoy more in yourself than all that can signify. I hear that you have been written to;

but nothing hath passed my hands but per packet, which I hope you received. Adieu to the next, and

Ever yours faithfully,

THO. WHITE.

September 6th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

BE pleased to receive my acknowledgment of your last, which hath been some motive to the inclosed; all this omission having proceeded from the want of convenience. I am sure your absence loses you nothing in the estimation of your friends, so frequent mention I daily meet with to your advantage, in which number I am enjoined by the honourable widow to acknowledge the favour of your letter. They begin to consider of their winter quarters. Full satisfaction will be made you. This last week, with the discourse of a new motion of the levelling party, the scene was Oxford: the active and vigilant people of the times choked it in the conception. It had so short a being and continuance, that divers are persuaded there was nothing of earnest in it. That will be cleared if any execution follow upon the prime actors, who are in custody. Some are induced to believe it was meant only to train on another party, whose fingers are sufficiently burnt already. There is a spirit reigns amongst those people that will never be conjured down, though great endeavours are used to sweeten J. Lillborne; and he begins to hearken, which is more than half the conquest. Their petty successes serve to confirm us in our ways. We expect greater countenance from Spain than we have as yet found from any other kingdom, it being

confidently affirmed that an ambassador is to come thence to conclude a league, offensive and defensive, with our estate, and before the prohibition of French wines be revoked. The like must move from you: it must be composed by a negociation, which cannot be without owning our state. Since the army drew into the field, we know nothing of action. Tredaith must first be looked, which it seems is well provided for the time. The clearing of the North is the first in intention, the better to interrupt any correspondence between the two nations, it being yet believed that the interest or pretence of the Covenant will not hinder a composure with the King, if his affairs should proceed in Ireland. Our General, in reducing of the old regiments there, hath much discontented the old soldier, which in time may have an ill consequence, if the cause prove what is alleged, that they were not to be trusted. Strong apprehensions of invasion in Scotland, which hath occasioned the sending for men to the borders, to be at hand, if occasion do require. The merchant is grown malcontent upon the late tidings from Russia, whose Emperor hath prohibited all commerce with the subjects of this State, as a people of such high guilt as unfit to mingle with his: he hath allowed them time to get in their debts. I must for this time bate you the residue, having not allowed myself time in anything within my power. I shall ever appear

Your most faithful servant,

THO. WHITE.

September 13th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

My dear Friend,

Your last being of the 15th, together with one other of the 1st, came the same instant to my hands, which I confess have put me very far upon your account, as well for the number as weight, being so exact in relation of particulars, which would not have found faith here if it had had not your stamp, for here they are possessed with an opinion that it is impossible to compose your intestine troubles, or to prevent thorough ruptures; but these late attempts not succeeding will soon clear that doubt. However, we conceive you will have so much business of your own as will keep you from disturbing your neighbours. Though you begin the quarrel with us at sea, we mean very suddenly to quit scores with you, there being a resolution taken to grant out letters of marque to make ourselves savers of you for the losses already sustained, and for those ships of yours or Rupert's that ply the Straits' mouth. Ten very good sail are from hence designed to watch your course, there being a far greater number to be shortly in readiness to scour the neighbouring seas, there being a necessity on your part to keep a strong fleet in regard of the great scarcity of provision that is in Ireland, which occasions the transporting of so much from hence; but that defect will be supplied by our late successes in Ireland, whereof this inclosed being the last that is made public, and being from the chief hand there, will give you a taste. I would have sent you more, but for swelling this into too great a bulk. Ormond's resolution or meaning cannot be discovered, unless he intend to wear out our force with winter sieges, and then at his own

time take advantage of our weakness, for by several letters it is written that his army is numerous; his delay may cost him dear if he mean fighting, for our recruits advance apace, the General's second son being lately gone hence with a regiment of horse, and great numbers of foot are already as far as Chester; and at this rate do we wear out this winter, only find out some employment by turning all that is vendible of the late King's into ready money, finding out new ways of improving the excise, as extending it to men's ease, pleasures and conveniences, as putting it upon coaches, hawks, and dogs, which is pretended a kindness to the gentry, that the high price of their pleasures may exclude the plebeian. Some thrift we pretend to in another kind by crying down the wearing of all gold and silver lace for which a bill is to pass. We would give the Scot no temptation to trouble us again, who we fear will not be confined to their own wilderness. His brother Presbyter expects still his deliverance that way, and so great a suspicion there is of a compliance, that one Penruddock, that came lately from Holland, is imprisoned upon a suspicion of being employed to negociate with that party, but all fear from thence is over if the King comply not, wherein it seems you as well as many others here are unsatisfied; all courtship and application is made to them to gain them; the worst title that Cromwell's letter gives them are his angry friends. I find you understand the true reason of this intermission, your chief was put into a cold sweat, and your lawyer to his distinction touching the grand scruple by your awaking a sleeping conscience; if you do not right us, you will scarce believe us to be such creatures as you left us; I am sure nothing can make me lose your service. I hope, I shall keep myself still in a capacity to be so owned. This stopping

of letters will be like to take off much from your trouble, especially since Penruddock's restraint. Your account of the affairs of Paris was very exact, and such narratives without application can carry no prejudice, though it fall into the hands of the most rigid; nothing can be inferred from bare relations, that can by any construction be looked upon as design. I leave you still to the freedom of your own judgment, only your chief engaged me to add this gentle caution. Preserve me ever in your esteem and friendship, which is extremely valued by your faithful servant,

THO. WHITE.

October 13*th*, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE in one of the last week given you an account of myself, that here I am to be found to become your further trouble at the old rate, for I confess myself to be upon your score. We are persuaded you may have some thoughts this way, and that you may have motives to it even from the place where you are. I assure you, so great are the desires of your friends to have their share of you, that your quarters are provided, and you cannot want accommodation to your own heart's content. I do not doubt your lady's inclination, who will find the respect of many friends to welcome her. You will find it a winter well spent; and at spring may take new considerations. This week we expect your chief and his whole sequela in town: to welcome them I should be glad to receive something from your own hand. We are here very full of some late tidings come from Scotland, that mention the landing of Colonel King with

some forces, that are like to make great change there, there being discerned an inclination, in a great party, to join with them; besides another report, as if the body of that kingdom intended an invasion upon us. Nothing so frequently talked of as an agreement with their King, to whom it is conceived that a safe conduct is sent, though we cannot learn that their commissioners are as yet gone any further than Holland, where Culpepper still remains. It is certain some more than ordinary apprehensions we have here of troubles from Scotland. I presume you hear how unsettled things appear to grow in Holland, upon the late resolution taken by the States Provincials to disband the foreign soldiers; which order is disputed by the Prince of Orange. Colonel Cromwell hath been employed to transact the business between both parties. From Ireland we have little since the taking of Wexford. Some service performed in the north against Venables by Sir George Monroe and Trevor; that Belfast is taken by them, and a considerable party cut off. What resolution Owen Roe hath taken up we cannot certainly learn. We hear the treaty between you and Spain is like to be set on foot again by the mediation of the Pope and Venetians. This is by way of quære to you, as also how the domestic troubles are allayed. We must be made happy in a sight of you, and then to tell you really there is no one living is more your servant than

T. W.

My last contained a letter desired to send to ———.

November 5th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

I AM very much satisfied to find that mine have found a clear passage to you. Though the materials are not the same, I am glad to find you pleased to entertain the whole trouble. I differ not from the opinion signified to you in my last, touching your inclination to confer a right on us; there are several conveniences to invite you to it. You know best how to compute the expense and trouble of such a journey; but my desires must not carry me to your prejudice, who so well understand the compass of your own affairs, by the trial you have had of us. You know the worst; and at the same rate you are still to find us, if you come. The scope of this is, to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 13th. We are grown so barren, that there is not so much as a stock to fill up this paper. Our last tidings from Ireland were of Cromwell being before Duncannon, where he hath continued for ten days. You know they use not here to speak diffidently of their own success; a strong place it is, and commanded by Preston, who hath given a good account of a weaker, Ghinop-house. The disease of the country begins to work in the conquering army, so that the numbers do daily lessen. Some conceive a strong inclination in Cromwell to give us here a visit. Horton, a considerable officer of his, is lately dead there. We hear the Scots have had very ill luck at Coleraine, though Belfast and Lisnegarey were both recovered and burnt. We are pleased to find the truth of Mr. Trevor's success from you, he having marched thirty miles to perform that service. Here is much industry and care for clothes and recruits; and pay they cannot want,

whilst so many Milves are in motion. The present business is the choice of new sheriffs, which we are not much concerned to inquire after. They have it also under consideration to proceed to the trial of Judge Jenkins, Sir Jo. Stowell, and William Legg, but nothing certainly determined. Much expectation of what will be the issue of these animosities in Holland; the surfeit of peace and plenty makes those people so queasy stomached, as now to affect a new diet. We hear of Prince Rupert being at sea with six sail: this hath not been confirmed by any matter of action. Sir, if you have anything to say to your chief, you know the next week where to find him. If my request be not improper, I desire you will communicate to me a calculation of your young master's nativity, for I make no question but have met with it, and the best skilled in that art are planted in your clime. Yours was delivered to the King. I presume to beg your trouble of the inclosed, which is occasioned by want of other means of conveyance. I shall add no more, but that I am most faithfully,

Your very affectionate servant,

THO. WHITE.

November 9th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———

SIR,

SINCE my return I only received one letter from you, which I do not instance to increase your trouble, only I gain a satisfaction to myself and your friends by it, whose constant inquiry of you doth very much evidence the esteem and value they hold of you, who seemed not a little pleased

with the hopes of your presence; it is possible since my persuasion, you may meet with some matters of discouragement from a resolution taken to make this new subscription to the present way and government to be pressed generally; if it be so pursued and prosecuted, you will in that but take your fortune with your many other friends. The clergy do stumble at it, and the universities have also manifested an averseness to it; but the logic of the sword that gives the law will be obeyed at long running. Being tendered to the assembly they took time of consideration, which is all the progress of that business, bating that the gown-men stuck not at it. All the present care is taken for the hastening of forces over into Ireland, which are unfortunately called for, and hastened; for since the conjunction of Ormond and O'Neale, Cromwell begins to have some apprehensions that he must suddenly fight to maintain his new conquests, which he professeth he will not decline, though his numbers fall far short of his enemies, which daily grow less by the country disease, besides some losses sustained by the siege of Duncannon, which hath and is like to find them picking work. Youghall and Cork they affirm to be both declared for them, and their head quarters to be at Ross; so that considering the season, they have done much of their business in a short time, and yet, they may yet find too much for them to do. Here is some speech of their besieging Kilkenny. The apprehensions we have of more troubles from Scotland grow still greater, and here is nothing more believed and expected than that there will be an agreement with their King, their commissioners having been long since with him; but the success of these negociations must be expected from you. I send you the enclosed for the novelty of it, being the intended frontis-

piece of a book which was surprised in the press. You need no comment upon it when you examine it. Your friends enjoy perfect health, and have already had some seasoning of the town. I expect in your next to know something of your inclination this winter. I put some trouble upon you to convey a few lines from me to one Mr. Newton, which I hope came safe to your hands. I shall not add to it by detaining you longer than to subscribe myself

Your most faithful servant,

THO. WHITE.*

November 15th, 1649.

The penury to which some of the Church dignitaries were reduced by the late convulsions, is pathetically illustrated in an appeal from Bishop Goodman to the civic authorities of Gloucester. The See was cut down to beggary.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MR. MAYOR AND THE ALDERMEN OF GLOUCESTER.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

TWENTY-FIVE years are now past since first I became your neighbour, in which time I have received many tokens and kindnesses from you, and I dare boldly say, not any city and bishop in England did live and accord more lovingly and brotherly together than we did; yet by the practice of some few (not a fiftieth part of your city, though they used the name of the city,) a petition was put up against

* These letters are from Mr. Bentley's Collection.

me this Parliament (the like was not done by any other city against their bishop), and much money spent in prosecution thereof. Some things, God knows, were untrue; but if all had been confessed, yet they did not amount to the height of an accusation, nor were the faults punishable by any law, only they might argue some indiscretion. In regard hereof, seeing I was now become a petitioner to the Parliament, it was necessary that I should desire, not your certificate (for that had been a disparagement to the credit of my place and calling), but that you should write to your citizens in Parliament, to further my petition, whereby might appear the good correspondence ever held between us; and this very freely and lovingly you did, for which I return you many thanks, and if ever God shall enable me, I will requite it. Now I thought fit to give you an account of the business truly, Mr. Speaker, your Recorder and his son did very much respect your recommendation, and I pray return them many thanks for me, and desire their continuance of their favour. But when I consider you have better deserved of the Parliament than any city in England, not only for the enduring of a great siege, but indeed the turning of the wheel for ever after the Parliament's forces prevailed, which before they did not; if now you should recommend my petition immediately to the Parliament, it cannot be ill taken, but rather it would serve to renew the memory of what is past; and herein you shall do not only according to the former practice and precedent in law (as this bearer will inform you), but likewise observe your old custom; for no city hath been more kind to their Bishops, to their lecturers, and to their widows, than you have ever been. The memory of Mr. Prior, our prebendary, and his wife, can testify it. If herein I may prevail, you shall still more and more oblige me.

And now I shall make a further motion unto you, which, God knows, I do not with any intent to put you to the least charge, much less to put you in mind what I have done; but I do it only out of necessity, for as the case now stands with me, I live upon selling one thing after another, only to buy me bread. You may remember that I settled upon your hospital of St. Bartholomew the perpetual patronage of the parsonage of Keinerton, worth nearly 200*l.* per annum. Mr. H——— now enjoys it, by your presentation. It was settled with this condition:—That if any descended from my grandfather were capable thereof, he should be presented, otherwise it should go to the Mayor's son, or to the aldermen or citizens, in their seniority, which might be a little encouragement put them to breed their sons scholars. Now my desire is, that we might refer ourselves to some skilful purchaser, or let him set down a rate what it might be worth, to put out that clause of my grandfather's issue, and that it may be immediately settled upon the sons of citizens; and let him set down any reasonable rate between us, and it shall be accepted. Truly, the purchase did cost me above 1000 marks. And whereas I know that your city is not in case to purchase, for your payments are great, your trading is dead, the poor lie heavy upon you, &c., yet I shall expect no more than may be well paid out of the rents of the Hospital, and to be yearly paid as an annuity for term of my life, being now sixty-eight years aged, and you shall have it at an easy purchase. Or, if this motion do not please, if then I might know at what price you do estimate your own right, I should see whether I could procure a friend to lay out so much money, that I might sell the whole, and thereby make him satisfaction. Thus desiring you to take these things into consideration, that I may receive your answer, in

my daily prayers beseeching God to bless the city and county of Gloucester, I rest,

Your loving friend and servant,

GODFR. GOODMAN.*

November 23rd, 1649.

Alderman Atkin, who will be remembered by former appeals to his constituents at Norwich, is still in Parliament, and doing what he can to deserve a continuance of their favours.

MR. THOMAS ATKIN TO THE MAYOR OF NORWICH.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

MY due respects remembered unto you and all your brethren. Your letter of the 24th dicto I have received, and understand that the money due to the army until the 25th of December, is or will be ready when it is called for. I pray you hasten it all up, it will not come before it be welcome; and for that assessment from the 25th of this month for next three months, I pray you be mindful of it, lest free quarter come amongst you. I shall further the uniting of parishes what I can. We had a hearing this afternoon at committee of plundered ministers, and part of the prepared act was read; and when the parishes were named to be knit together, there was no church named for the people to meet in. Some reasons were given by some of your city, but not approved of; so we shall have a hearing again to-morrow afternoon. I have got an order for uniting the parishes in the city of Gloucester, which we shall make use of. I will not forget Christ Church; and I am not a

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

little troubled that the business of the weavering trade is not yet passed. I know it is of great concernment to have something done in it. As for the money upon the tickets, so soon as the 1st of January is past, I will see a return be made by the Committee of Indemnity, as was appointed by the House. I sent you the order, and I being in the House at all the debate, wrote you the sense; and if others send up all tickets of rich and poor, there will be a difference made here, and perhaps some poor indeed may suffer in it. I want a good partner to carry on your business, and so I take leave, and rest, your worship's to command,

THO. ATKIN.

I send herein the latest news from Ireland. God hath done wonderful things there, to admiration. Blessed be His name.

Laus Deo: London, December 27th, 1649.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL JOHN BAYLEY, ESQ.,
MAYOR OF NORWICH.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

MY due respects remembered. Your letter of the 7th dicto I have received. No news, since my last, from Scotland: they are there settling themselves in garrisons for a while; and the Parliament being desirous to have a full relation of the condition of that place, upon a full debate in the House, last Tuesday, that the Lord-General Cromwell should come over to the service of the House, and before mid March to return thither again. God send him well hither and thither again. I shall not be wanting here to further the City business, both for Church and weaving trade. A committee is appointed by the Committee for Plundered

Ministers, to consider of the City petition, and the desires about the Union, which I shall further the speeding of it, and also that for the trade of weaving, which I cannot yet get reported to the House, although I have not been wanting to do my utmost in it. I send you here inclosed the Act for Subscribing to the Engagement. Yesterday it was agreed to in the House, that the number of the new representatives shall not exceed 400 persons—there have been about 503; in Cornwall have been about 40; and I think 4 will be thought too many; and the like in some such remote places. The further debate upon it is put off till next Wednesday; and so I take leave, and rest

Your Worship's to serve,

THO. ATKIN.

Do write. The engagement sent down is (————) and then I expect some direction about the taking it.

Laus Deo: London, January 10th, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL JOHN BAYLEY, ESQ., MAYOR OF NORWICH.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

MY due respects remembered to you and Mr. New-elect. You may please to understand I have received your letter of the 27th dicto; and since then I have delivered the paper of the revenue of the hospital to the chairman of the Committee of the Army, as Mr. Speaker did this day advise me. I have delivered the account of the horse to Mr. Broad, who gave me the inclosed ordinances, for you to refuse, and to consider whether your City is interested in any of them. Mr. Broad doth keep the account, and saith he will take care

that the City shall have no wrong when a dividend shall be made. I writ you formerly that the Committee of the Army told me they could order nothing concerning the difference between you and Thorpe. Order was given that the Council of State should take care to send the Act for the Sabbath, and that for the day of humiliation, to each sheriff, to be dispersed abroad, which, I am told, is done already. There is very good news from Scotland. The Lord-General of Ireland is landed in England, and expected here within few days. Great differences in Scotland. On the 21st of this month, Montrose was put to death in Scotland. And so I take leave, and rest

Your Worship's to command,

THO. ATKIN.*

Laus Deo: London, May 30th, 1650.

More political gossip, in letters to the British Resident in Paris, is supplied from the same source to which we are indebted for the rest of our gleanings from Sir Richard Browne's correspondence.

THOMAS WHITE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOURS of the 22nd I received, which makes me more your debtor than I have stock to pay, unless the satisfaction your nearest friends receive by you may pass in the account, wherein you do in part repair the loss we have of the best piece of our conversation: we still keep up that staple, though not at the old rate. The more near approach of the spring gives assurance of fresh troubles. The fact will not

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

be confined to his own country; there pulpits are at work, and England must be the scene to play the second part: ours here are not backward to promote their interests according to the inclination of the several parties; the Independent to preserve his present power, and the Presbyterian to gain the ground he hath lost. It becomes admitted here that their King and they are agreed, and that Mountrose, his party is to be comprised, which some considering people cannot give any faith unto; but that rather looks as if it were given out to disjoin the parties here from those in that kingdom, the interests being so inconsistent. The preparations now in Scotland do put us upon the like considerations here, and is very like to occasion us to strike the first blow, and so be beforehand. Our grand confidence is in our great fleet, which is like to require many hands, and much more money than I doubt we are at present provided of. Some discourse we have here as if General Cromwell had received some loss about the 12th of this month, but nothing of this is publicly owned. His own coming over will cheer these doubts, though as yet we have no certainty of that; but for his welcome the Parliament have voted and conferred all the Earl of Pembroke's places and offices upon him. He was the last week surprised by a violent fever, under which he languished for some few days, and died: his successor in the House of Commons is not yet designed. We have been full of debates touching a new representative; but these alarms from Scotland will be like to put us off those resolutions. The Spanish Ambassador is leaving us. Some mistake there was, whereby he becomes a little disgusted. Where I fall short I must beg a further day, there being none more desirous to you than

THOS. WHITE.

January 27th, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

——— TO SIR R. BROWNE.

Sir,

Yours of the 15th was received to the very great great satisfaction of your friends, and as a special engagement upon your servant, who is not a little troubled that he can return you nothing suitable to so full and judicious an account, which is more acceptable to us, many of the particulars having been since confirmed from other hands. I did not find your divisions at Paris so great as they are here apprehended. The animosities of particular persons will not certainly set the whole frame on fire, if you needs must be falling out with us (as you have already begun the quarrel). Your divisions give us a confidence: we shall be able to watch you; though the truth is, ours at home begin to be already too visible, which will be soon discerned upon General Cromwell's arrival, who is sent for, and daily expected, though it may fall out unseasonably, as tending to a great discouragement of our army, which is reduced to a very weak condition. There is a work here of greater necessity, which is the quieting of some troubled spirits, who grow mutinous against the present power, and must be crushed in the shell. The choice of a new representative and a new council of state is the object of their present design. Some who take themselves fit to govern are unwilling to obey, and that may be the main ground of their quarrel: besides, another party is much stumbled with this engagement; since it became to be generally imposed, they look upon it as a snare. And though it be declared that the obligation is to continue no longer than this power, yet that satisfies not those who are persuaded that the least deviation from it must be triable by a council of war, which is matter of terror to such as have

been under the rule and obedience of known laws. Such as are out of office have been of consideration to the 20th of April. Here are strong apprehensions of the King's agreement with the Presbyterian sect, though the terms proposed be as high and rigid as they have formerly proposed. Whatever may happen, we provide against the worst, there being no less than 80 sail designed for the next summer's fleet, and 8000 men to man them. There is it at present 12 sail in readiness for the Straits to find out Rupert and his 'complices, whose doings, and the piracy committed by the French, is like to make a rupture upon our exchange, for the losses by them were great. Since the loss of Carrickfergus we have not heard anything of Ireland: there are ways under consideration for the carrying on of that work at a lesser charge. The loss of Lieutenant-General Jones makes a great impression. We have not many such officers. We can find no guard secure enough against that country disease. My next will inform you of some other particulars, and satisfy you in the present of my Lady Arundel. You have very punctually pursued the desire of your friends, who have enjoined the return of their service to you, to which none is more obliged than

Your most faithful and affectionate,

———.

January 13*th*, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

TO MY HONOURED FRIEND, SIR RICHARD BROWNE, KNIGHT, HIS MAJESTY'S RESIDENT IN FRANCE, AT PARIS.

SIR,

I HAVE received your dispatch by Mr. Progers, for which I give you many thanks; and I assure you it is a great

misfortune to me that the troubles of that now unhappy country deprive me of those weekly entertainments I received formerly from you. I shall entreat you, notwithstanding, to let me hear from you as often as you may; and to be pleased, by the return of Mr. Pooley, and of this bearer, Mr. Armourer, to send me a continuation of all that hath passed since your letter of the 23rd of February last, by Mr. Progers. I presume you will have heard of the peace in Ireland before this come to your hands. We yet continue at the Hague, but the King will shortly endeavour to put himself into action for the revenge of the murder of his father, and vindication of his own right; and, by the blessing of God, he hath one kingdom that will serve and assist him in the prosecution of that design. God Almighty will, I hope, give a blessing to his endeavours, and make him a prince as happy as his father was unfortunate. If there be any thing to be done for the renewing of your credentials, I pray let me hear from you concerning it, and be pleased to send me a copy of those you had last, with the style and address the late King then used. I pray present my service to your lady and daughter; and esteem me,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

ROBT. LONG.

March the 9th, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

The year 1651 opens with a plot to take the lives of two unknown persons lying at this time in the jail of Reading. The Tipstaff of Westminster is importuned, post-haste, to intercede.

FOR MR. WM. LEACHMAN, TIPSTAFF TO THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, IN THE OLD PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

SIR,

I DESIRE you to send down a messenger with all speed that I and my friend may clear our consciences, for there is one Thomas Walker, living in Bodmington in the county of Glocester, can discover a plot of a new rising, for there are divers gentlemen and clothiers that have their men and their sons and others in arms, to the number of 100 or more, and special good horses, and all other things necessary for war; and they say the first stirring that shall be, they will be ready and 1000 more that may be found out. And I desire you to take some speedy course for these men, that their horses and arms may be employed in the State's service, for such delinquents do seek to take my life from me, and my friends which are in prison with me; and they say if they do not hang us we shall undo all the country, which if God be pleased to deliver us forth, we will bring in money so much as shall pay a regiment. So with our prayers to God for you, we rest, yours to command till death,

EDIN. WARD,
ROBERT BORGE.

Reading, 23*rd February*, 1650, [*N.S.* 1651.]

Haste, haste, Post haste.

Mr. Leachman, I gave the man 5*s.* and I did promise him 7*s.* more, and I desire you to pay him the 7*s.**

The following letter conveys news from Ireland, where the adherents of the Stuarts kept the Parliamentary troops in a constant state of alarm and activity. In

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

the previous December, Lord Ormond had set sail for France, leaving the Marquis of Clanricarde as Lord Deputy behind him. It will be seen that the army was, as usual, suffering severe privations. The writer of this letter was the Sir Charles Coote whose barbarities are still held in bitter remembrance by the Irish. One of his most savage acts was that of hanging a Catholic bishop whom he had taken prisoner, and to whom he had been indebted for his life a year before.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, APPOINTED BY AUTHORITY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I NOW received your lordship's of the 21st of January last by Colonel Hill, in answer to a letter of the Commissioners of the Revenue here and mine, concerning some supply of provisions against the spring, by which I find the continued care of the state of their forces, which I most humbly and thankfully acknowledge, assuring your lordship that no endeavours, by the blessing of God, shall be wanting to promote their service; whereof, I hope they shall have a good account this summer. The ship with the clothes long since arrived here, and I assure myself, Colonel Venables hath given you an account of the disaster which befell us by the surprisal of part of the goods, which were intended to that part of your forces about Londonderry, by a perfidious Scot, and neglect of some intrusted, notwithstanding the great care of Colonel Venables for prevention thereof: the want of which

necessaries will very much trouble us, yet our confidence of the State's care for our futher supply, gives us encouragement to undergo our present sufferings with the greater cheerfulness. I conceive it necessary to inform your lordship that I have lately received some commands from my Lord Deputy for the prosecution of the service in Connaught about the middle of May at farthest; not only for the reducement of that province, but for the facilitating of his lordship's passage over the Shannon, and more strait besieging of Limerick, which are works of weighty concernment. It's therefore my most humble suit, that as the State have been graciously pleased to give orders for our supply with money and provisions, so that it may be done seasonably, and with such expedition, that the summer's service may not be retarded; whereby we may be enabled to prosecute the service, and to render the State that account of our actions as befits us, and take leave to subscribe myself,

My lord,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

CHA. COOTE.*

Carrickfergus, the 11 *of March*, 1650, [*N.S.* 1651.]

In the letters of the Royalists, the immediate succession of the Prince is invariably recognised. He is every where styled "his Majesty." All the flying rumours—now inflated with hope, now collapsing into despair—are caught up, and thrown off in their fugitive colours by the correspondents of Sir Richard Browne, who was the centre of the active negociations carrying on by the Prince's friends on the Continent.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

JOHN AP GRIFFITH TO SIR R. BROWNE.

Sir,

Yours of the 13th (23rd) present, found us here in so great a distraction of thoughts, as we are not able to recollect ourselves, nor can any honest man's mind, I think, be so well composed (until there be some certainty of his Majesty's happy escape out of his malicious enemy's hands,) as to be able to think of any business, private or public; for truly, if his Majesty (which God of his infinite mercy forbid) shall perish, there will be but small hope left of recovering the monarch of England out of their hands, who are now masters of it, and so strongly fortified in it. God's providence rules over all; because sentence against rebellion is not executed speedily, our hearts ought not, therefore, to think or do evil; for though a sinner do evil a hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know it shall be well with them that fear God, and we must all submit our wills to His divine pleasure, and adore the justice we do not see. As concerning Monsieur Herault's papers, as far as I can call to mind, you gave them to me after you said you had acquainted his Majesty with the same, which was, I think, at Beauvais, and I never heard his Majesty ever express any the least indignation either against the papers, or the person that sent them; but when at Breda, I asked his Majesty what he would have done thereupon, he commanded me to send a copy of them to Mr. Dean Stuart, who was then at Jersey, which accordingly I did, and wrote to him as his Majesty commanded me, and Mr. Dean can best tell you the effect thereof. This is all I can possibly at present call to mind of that business. Sir H. de Vic is, I hear, gone post for Paris,

upon the news of his lady's being so dangerously sick, and will be with you, peradventure, as soon as this letter. I have sent the letters you recommended to my care according to their several addresses, and thank you for your care in sending mine. We have a report here that our royal master is safe landed at St. Malo. I wish it were true, which, if it be, I presume your next letter will speak of it. I am now meditating where to fix my quarters this next winter, and shall to that purpose remove with my small company from this ill and unhealthy place this next week, and therefore I pray forbear writing any more letters to me until I shall send you another address for your letters, for I must retire, being so far exhausted as I know not how to subsist six months longer in the most parsimonious way I can possibly live. As soon as I shall have received my letters by your next post, I intend to retire hence. We hear that Cromwell is resolved the next spring, if not sooner, for certain to visit France with a very good army in assistance of Spain. What hear you there of it? Sir John Marley's son is arriving here about three weeks since, affirmed that he left Mr. R. Fanshawe, Mr. Thomas Bray, and Mr. Harding, in Scotland, a week after the King was gone for England; and yet to our amazement and great sorrow we perceive they are all prisoners. Some report that Duke Hamilton is dead of his wounds. The Duke of Buckingham is said to be with the King, whom God preserve and send safe out of his enemy's power. I much apprehend that those in England will now take an opportune season to fall on Jersey before the spring. I pray do me the kindness to cause the inclosed to be conveyed,

You will much oblige, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN AP GRIFFITH.

My humble service to your good lady and family. You may assure those that informed you that the King expressed such indignation against Monsieur Herault and his papers, as to throw the same at his feet, that his Majesty is not at all subject to such passions, but of a singular and exemplary moderation.

Antwerp, (19*th*,) 29*th September*, 1651.

JO. WILLIAMS TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 7th of this month as I was ready to take waggon at Antwerp to come for this town, but I communicated it to my Lord Ambassador before I came thence, from whom (it is possible) you may have heard of it before this comes to you. I have, as you desired herein, sent you a letter open to Mr. De Cos—, which, that it be to your mind, be pleased to seal and present to him. I think you shall do well not to be troubled at the vague reports of any that shall, from the performance of your duty in presenting of Mr. Fonteine's proposition, endeavour to infer you are affected to that hypocritical profession of religion called Presbytery; if you had refused to have presented the same, or to have conveyed it to his Majesty, you may be sure those that sent it would have put it into some other hand to have done it, which probably might have been much more for their advantage. Those who call aspersions on you for that action, will do themselves most wrong. I hear Dr. Goff lurks in Amsterdam, upon some sinister employment; what that may be you may easier learn where you are, than we can

discover here. We have no certain news where the King is, but the common report speaks him to be in the north of Scotland. God grant he be safe, and send him free and out of the power of his enemies' hands. It is very strange that not one man that was in the fight at Worcester should in all this time come over either into France or these parts, to give an account of that business. I pray let me know what you hear of their proceedings in England, upon their late prodigious success at Worcester. If you please to write to me once in a fortnight it will be enough, since now there is little likelihood that I can do his Majesty any service in these parts, and the truth is I must by degrees lessen my expenses, being already drawn very low; and if you think good, I shall write but once in fifteen days also to you. The Marquis of Worcester was lately here, and is now at Dort. My Lord Ambassador Hill is very firmly your true friend, and will be ready on any occasion (I am confident) to express himself to be such. I pray, what becomes of Sir Jo. Berkeley if the Queen break up the house, and whither will the Lady Moreton, Mrs. Seymour, and Mrs. Gardiner go in such case? I hope the Duke of York will apply himself diligently to be with the French King altogether, for that, I conceive, will be most for his advantage. Is Monsieur de Belleisle preparing to go for England? The French cannot send one that will do our master better service. I pray present my affectionate service to your good lady and children, and rest assured that I am constantly,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Jo. Williams.

Mr. Jane desires to know whether you received his letter

sent you about twelve days since. I pray direct your letters to me henceforth thus:—

Aen Mynheer,
Mynheer Alderly, tot de juffervii Palmurt,
inde Papestraet, inden
Hague.

I hear those in England have sent a squadron of ships to the northward, to take tribute of the Dutch vessels for their fishing there, which will much trouble the Hogon Mogons here.

Hague, Oct. 8th (18*th*), 1651.

Shortly after the execution of the King, Charles II. was proclaimed in Scotland, and in 1650 he appeared in the Frith of Cromarty, but was not allowed to land until he had taken the Covenant, which his father had so firmly resisted. Here he raised his standard, and here a new civil war was opened in the July following, when Cromwell entered Scotland at the head of 11,000 horse and foot.

The first engagement took place in the level country beyond Dunbar, where Cromwell routed David Leslie, the commander of the Scotch army, and immediately afterwards invested Glasgow and Edinburgh. On the 6th January, 1651, Charles II. was ostentatiously crowned at Scone.

Great efforts were made to recruit the Scotch forces; and the suspension of military operations on the side of the Parliamentarians by the approach of winter, and by

a fit of the ague which temporarily disabled Cromwell, inspired Charles with so much confidence, that he pushed on to Carlisle and Worcester, at which latter place he was again proclaimed.

The royal progress, however, by no means kept pace with the royal pretensions. The people were everywhere lukewarm, and the Prince's strength was reduced by desertions from day to day. In this condition Cromwell found the Royalists on the banks of the Severn, and surrounding them all on sides, obtained a conclusive victory over them under the walls of Worcester, driving their despairing cohorts before him pell-mell into the town. The following piece of intelligence relates to the state of affairs at this period, and appears to have been written about the date of the battle of Worcester.

ANONYMOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Good Doctor,

This is now the third time that I am greeting of you by my letters. I heard by Dr. Short (whom I met here last week) that you had that which I sent about the passages at the commencement. I had, happily, written weekly, but that indeed the new and unexpected commotions disappointed my personal visit fully intended of you; but, as the case stands here now, I can assure you, bene qui latuit, bene vixit. All horses are seized that are found here for the service, and no passage out any way, without a ticket.

Had not this happened, I guess that I had been now in those parts. I saw Mr. Love, the minister, beheaded, on Friday, the 22nd instant; all men admired his christian and cheerful resolution in death. He died as not owning the present power. In his speech some passages went high, and became tender, insomuch that the speech was suppressed, and one press broken as I heard; yet, in a very hasty manner: one very near to the all of what he spake is printed, which I have (hardly gotten) here sent you; something is omitted, but all that is here he said; only the prayer is altered. His body was kept, being forbidden from an intended public burial. Upon Monday last (on which day here was a general muster and great appearance of all the City Bands, in Islington Fields, divers Parliament men riding among them) yet that night, about midnight, in a mighty throng of people, he was buried in his own church, St. Lawrence; Mr. Manton preaching till towards one or two in the morning. One told me they sent in his wife, from private collections, about a thousand pounds. I hear not (hitherto) of any the other imprisoned ministers brought, as yet, to any public trial, but it is daily expected. A good sum offered (as I have been this week credibly and divers times informed) to discover the famous Mr. Marshall, the minister, who is withdrawed; also a large sum to bring in Jo. Lilburne (the leveller), who they say is gone with a party to the Scots' army. We walk here as upon thorns, and look as if we were afraid one of another; ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε is now a very seasonable counsel. The King of Scots broke through a very dangerous pass, at Warrington Bridge, in Lancashire, by which means he got so far as Worcester, into which, after some opposition, he entered; which had he not done, his soldiers told him they could not march so far and much

without some rest and repose. I heard the last night that the Mayor of Worcester (for that admission) is voted to be hanged without mercy, and that city fined 14,000*l.* There was a general report here that, upon Sunday morning last, the King had stormed and got into Gloucester, but it is held very improbable by wise men. About 500 horse got safely to Oxford, but stayed not; also, upon Sunday last, a troop or two were at Marlborough, and swept many horses in their return; but so many stops in the way, it is supposed that the main body and strength lie together about Worcester. They say that Lieutenant General Cromwell mustered 30,000 men upon Dunsmore Heath in the beginning of the week. It is supposed 50,000 men from several parts are encountering or surrounding them. One Mr. Middleton, father-in-law to Colonel Whaley, told a friend of mine, about Wednesday night last, that the King's army was compassed thirty miles round. The party sent from the Isle of Man from the Earl of Derby is spoiled; the report of his own being taken in person holds out. Sir Thomas Fairfax, through infirmity of body, desires to be excused from stirring in the work. Yet some speak highly of the Scottish strength, number, valour, and desperate resolutions. Some body (no mean one) had been blamed for suffering them to come so far into the bowels of the nation. They say the King's motto is, "A crown or a coffin." They, who give him for lost here (as well as in Scotland, where for certain Stirling Castle is yielded) build on these grounds:—1. His want of a retreating place, or an outlet to escape, in case of a rout. 2. Whence should there be supply of ammunition or artillery, the seas and garrisons being in other powers. 3. Whither convey sick and wounded soldiers. 4. Most counties disarmed before his approach to them; most of the gentry secured or

overawed by the High Court and the new proclamation: yet others think that desperate resolution is the strongest artillery. It is supposed the issue will not now be long in discovering. This is all I can learn, as of the best probability, and from the best hands, being relieved very much till the storm be over, or fall another way.

There passed divers letters very lately of compliment between your father and Dr. Colle of Cambridge. Through this conveyance I have adventured to send the last to you, which, I pray, reserve for me till I come in person. Present, I pray, my choicest regards to your virtuous consort: her doves had been with her, as well as myself, had not this new storm risen. Remember me to your brother George, to old Mr. Hatch, and Creedy, when you see them; to Mr. Monke, and Mr. Abraham.

We had here the most ghastly lightning and thunder on the last Saturday, for about twelve hours' space, that ever was heard; divers turrets broke down.*

It is said that Charles did not appear on the field on this occasion, and that the din of the firing roused him from a deep sleep. After the battle the Royalists fled out of the town in consternation, leaving behind them 3000 slain and 10,000 prisoners. The unfortunate Prince, who had been thus twice fruitlessly proclaimed King, and who saw his last hopes and resources perish in this engagement, wandered about the country for six weeks, and, after a variety of perilous adventures, finally effected his escape to France.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

1652—1670.

DEATH OF CROMWELL.

SYMPTOMS OF A RETURN TO MONARCHY.

DIVISIONS IN THE ARMY.

LORD FAIRFAX DECLARES FOR THE KING.

CORONATION OF CHARLES II.

1652—1670.

The Fairfax Correspondence is silent during the intervening years from the battle of Worcester to the Restoration. The General was nursing his wounds at Nun Appleton, and appears to have strictly avoided all correspondence on public affairs. The treatment he received from the hands of Cromwell, who omitted no opportunity of heaping indirect indignities upon him, fed from year to year his secret desire to reconstruct the monarchy; and when the death of the Protector opened the means of effecting that object, he threw the whole of his influence into the royal cause.

In the meanwhile a few scattered letters, derived from the miscellaneous Collection which we have already drawn upon in other places, will incidentally illustrate some points of personal and public interest.

The writers of the following letter were Americans who had just made their way in the year 1656 from England to the coast of France, apparently to convey intelligence to the Prince and enlist themselves in his service.

CHR. GARDINER AND RICHARD THOMAS TO ——

Sir,

Being safely and well arrived hither, our obligations command our returns, as well in point of observance to your commands, as to satisfy our particular desires in the performance of those acknowledgments due to the civilities you were pleased to show to a couple of Americans, (such individuum vagums) manumitted (we hope) to a better purpose than the hoe, and another livelihood than potato slips, or cane tops.

And since you have under your hand reintituled us to our Christendom again, be assured we shall act nothing ever to dissever your candour and acceptation, or renounce our faith.

We do therefore earnestly beg the continuance of your favour in your intimations to Court on our behalf, that having got a little English fleece upon our backs, we may there appear upon another score, than either as forbidden or an useless commodity.

We cannot give you any other account of England, but what passes for vox populi, namely, that the House having been so long big of a Protector (as they call him), now 'tis but high time it should be a preparing to resolve itself into a midwifery, for the delivery of that monstrous brat, King Oliver; or otherwise good Mr. Doctor Red Coat is once more to apply his skill to ease and facilitate the throes, or quite scare it to another abortion.

We are sorry to see England daily, and cannot call it ours; God bless, prosper his Majesty, and restore him; and then we think we have prayed sufficiently, believing ourselves so much

the rather faithful subjects, by how much the more (we hope) we are, sir, your most humble and most obliged servants,

CHR. GARDINER.

Calais, December 13th, 1656. R. THOMAS.

We have a rapid outline in the next letter of the doctrinal question, or questions, which at this period gave much occupation to the minds of Puritans and Papists. Sir William Morrice was a kinsman of Monk's, and was appointed at the Restoration, Secretary of State, an office for which he was ill qualified from his ignorance of foreign languages and foreign affairs. But he held it nevertheless for seven years, his general ability supplying the place of these special deficiencies. He spoke Latin fluently, and was a good Grecian, accomplishments of no great practical value to a Secretary of State. Monk was reported to have told the King that his cousin Morrice was qualified from his knowledge of French, and *his facility in writing short-hand;* but the statement is discredited. The mechanical faculty of short-hand would go a short way in the discharge of the responsibilities of statesmanship.

The book to which Morrice alludes in this lengthy communication was called "The Common Right to the Lord's Supper asserted." It was originally published in 1651, and the second edition, which he speaks of in 1658 as nearly ready for the press, did not appear till 1660. It is recorded of him that he would never suffer any man to say grace in his house except himself; there he considered himself both priest and king.

WILLIAM MORRICE TO ————.

Sir,

I had the felicity to receive those letters which you did me the favour to write; how long since they issued from your hands I know not, because they bear no date, but they arrived into mine about the beginning of the last month, and an advertisement came with them that they had long slept or loitered by the way. I suspended the return of my answer till I had been at our assizes at Exeter, where I hoped to have found out and fixed a shorter and surer way of intercourse with you than that of London, which is far about, and being by reason of miscarriages, far also from the nearest home. But, being there frustrate of my hopes, I shall now render you my hearty thanks for that you have honoured me with a salutation from your hand, which *non ultima laus est*, and whereby you have made legible your very civil respects, which spring not from my merit but your affection; for love being an appetite of union, there cannot but be some liking where is already a likeness by conjunction in the defence of one common cause, though *sequor à longe* and *non passibus æquis*. And though that assertion hath had too great an influence upon your preface, yet the rest of your discourse is full of the ways of your excellent judgment. I have received letters from many parts of this nation, and from their hands whose faces I never saw, but they have been rather compliments than instructions, but by yours I have profited, and when I read them I am the better. I shall now not animadvert upon the particulars thereof, because most of them will be spoken to in the next edition of my book, which is now transcribing, and will ere long be ready for the press. And

into a second impression I have not only been strained by the gross faults in the former, which have put me very much out of countenance, but also prompted to it by the desires of many to translate the Latin quotations into English, and not to speak an unknown tongue without interpreting; and since, for aught I can hear or presage, I am not likely to be called again into the arena, I have thought it expedient to explain and enlarge it (though it be *crassa Minerva* already, and too corpulent), by publishing some other conceptions, which I travail to be delivered of, and by answering some objections which I have lately met with in our opposite's *gravioris armatura*, being not rich enough in time to squander it away in reading, much less in confuting trivial pamphlets. In the 30th section, which treats of eating and drinking unworthily, I may perchance speak something suitable to your notions, and jump with you, though I cannot make so strong or large a leap; and by reasons collected from the text, and the authority of ancient and modern interpreters, endeavour to vindicate that exposition which you say Tympson attempted to make good; and I shall give some hint that as the hyperbolical expressions of the Fathers brought forth transubstantiation, so that produced the opinion of the dignity of the Sacrament, and the greater degrees of preparation requisite to be partaken thereof; and that, notwithstanding in those Fathers is found as great express of speech concerning other ordinances, and the due partaking of them, and that they have said as much concerning hearing the Word, as you remind me that the Book of Common Prayer speaks concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and I shall also assay to show that this tended only to make men more prepared, yet aimed not to stave them off till they attained to such preparation. I

thank you for admonishing me that I did not consider to the bottom what stress is put upon that distinction between the part of the receiver and the admitter; yet truly before I was reminded thereof by your letters, I was sensible that a passage of this concernment, page 181, might be liable to exception, but as I alleged it out of Lessins and Vossine, *ex hypothesi* and *per concessionem*, so I have endeavoured to solve it by inserting a line in that place, and referring the reader for a right understanding of my proper sense therein to the foresaid section, where I labour to make good, that though it be true that none ought to receive without faith, repentance, and charity, yet it is false that none without faith, repentance, and charity, ought to be receivers; and therefore in such way, I hope, we need not afflict ourselves with melancholy thought for prejudicing men's salvation by a free admission, but may rather keep comfort in our consciences for having endeavoured to reduce them to a freedom of partaking that ordinance which is an effectual means of salvation. You will find that I have read *Themmoins' de Præparatione*, whom you quote, but yet that I cannot follow his tract all along. Concerning Mr. Baxter and Mr. Blake, I have sadly looked upon it, too, for two such godly and learned men, *contraria signis signa, pares aquilas*, to contend *Andabatarum more*. Mr. Baxter will have it to be the profession of a justifying faith which gives right to sacraments; Mr. Blake doth not deny that the faith is such objectively, and Mr. Baxter doth not affirm that it ought to be such subjectively. Mr. Baxter saith it must be the profession of a sound faith, and Mr. Blake tells us, that it need not be a sound profession of faith, and this Mr. Baxter contradicts not. Mr. Blake will grant it might be a profession serious in the opinion of charity, and Mr. Baxter contends not that

it ought to be faith in the judgment of verity. I have called under examination Mr. Sawdry's Distinction of Privileges and Duties, and Moral and Positive Duties; but as the man is, so is his strength; and if you had drawn forth your pen, you would have given it a more mortal wound at the first coming out of that pamphlet. I said to some of Mr. Saunders's friends that I durst to have undertaken to defend Mr. Saunders against him upon his own grounds. I am perfectly convinced of what you say, that, as St. Augustine speaks of the receptacles of souls, there is no middle place; and the Prætor of the Samnites said, there is no middle way; so these pretending moderators might either fix upon the independent principles of convincing signs of regeneration, or come up full home to us for a dogmatical faith, there being in the middle way no firm ground to rest upon; but truth will not let them stay and set among the other, and interest and glory suffer them not to advance and close with us, and so like light instable meteors, they hang suspended between heaven and earth. When the Prince of Parma had as good as taken Antwerp, La Nove wished him to hang up his arms over the gate, for his fortune was at the ascendant, and would thenceforth be in a declination; even so after Mr. Sawdry had written his book of the Sabbath, he might have done consultly to have listened to a strange *leves calamos*, for he hath since only ascended downwards. Concerning that question, which you suppose the ground of all, whether the Church consist of the regenerate and unregenerate? I think I have spoken to that point in the 16th section of my book, where I have showed that this was the subject matter of contest between the Catholics and the Donatists: the former asserting, the other gainsaying, that the Church consisted of good and evil; but

I have now discussed that question more largely, and in a closer dispute, and have showed there is no real controversy in this matter, between us and the papists; that which seems to be, being occasionally the homonymy of the word Church, and their arguing from the Church, materially taken, to the Church understood formally, absolutely, simply, and univocally; and I further prove, that the unregenerate men are so far parts of the Church, as to be capable of the Sacraments, and that the being in the Church in such way and manner as they be, is that which gives right to Sacraments. I have held you too long at so poor an entertainment, or rather at a bill of fare, only telling you how you are like to be hereafter entertained. I shall therefore, further, only tell you that your choicer gift and learned labours I much reverence and love, and I never read anything in your writings which I disliked, but that you say you will write no more. I shall for my part, always pay you my share of the thanks which you have justly merited, for that excellent salve which you have compounded and applied to the disease of this Church sick of *solutio continui*. I have an hearty desire, and shall reckon it a great advantage to keep a correspondency with you, and I shall put it upon the score of my felicities to spring or meet any occasion of doing you real service, whereby I may merit the name of

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

WILL. MORRICE.

Werinton, April 13th, 1658.

The Mr. John Nicholas, who writes the following letter, was the son of the Secretary, and the person addressed was, no doubt, Sir Richard Browne.

MR. JOHN NICHOLAS TO ———

SIR,

I WRITE this by my father's command, that you may not be disappointed of a letter, he being unable to do it himself, having been taken violently ill two nights since; but he hath had such effects of the benefits of nature, as I hope the worst is past, and he finds himself pretty well this day. I am by this to acknowledge your favour of the 12th instant to my father, and to entreat you for the future to direct your letters to him in this place, as he desired by his former, having removed my mother and his family to this town, where they arrived the last night, Bruges being now a troublesome and insecure place. This day se'nnight 5,000 of the French horse faced it, and took away some horses just without the portcullis, among which the Lord Newbrugh lost five. Their whole army lies still between Diamude and Nieuport, without attempting anything; and it is now believed they will not meddle with the latter, it being very well provided. The generals of this country as yet keep their posts, whither the last week's letters told you they were retired; and in this leisure from action the Duke of Gloucester, having left Don Juan at Bruges, came hither on Thursday to see his Majesty, and will stay with him till Tuesday, which day his Majesty goes to Antwerp for a week's time. My Lord Lieutenant meets him there, and my Lord Chancellor from Breda, who buried his father-in-law the last week. I have no more to add, but my father's service to you, with the assurance that I am with great respect, sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

JOHN NICHOLAS.

Brussels, July 20th, 1658.

We are now approaching the avatar of Charles II. Cromwell died on the 3rd September, 1658. His son Richard succeeded to the government as quietly as if it had been a matter of fixed hereditary right. In January, 1659, he issued writs for a new Parliament, which was broken up into factions in its first session. The formation of parties outside the walls soon became even more formidable than the convulsions within. Six months had scarcely elapsed when the Royalists began to calculate with certainty, as the following fragment discloses, upon the restoration of the Prince :—

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER ANNOUNCING THE PROSPECT OF THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

The general opinion here is, that after the peace is settled, the two crowns will, in consideration of the common interest of monarchy, unanimously co-operate in the re-establishment of his Majesty, towards which here are generally great inclinations in the people. And I have good reason to believe also that this Court is of late better disposed thereunto than formerly; whilst the rebels' disorders in England seem more and more to thicken into a dark chaos of confusion, out of which we may speedily see some auspicious beam of light by a blessed fiat from above, break forth, discovering the way and means for his Majesty's entries into his kingdoms; and illustriously re-investing his sacred person with his too long eclipsed inherent native royal splendour. This is, &c.

6th June, 1659.

The army was divided into three sections—one purely Republican; another devoted to the Court, such as it was; the third which, gradually uniting itself to the first, demanded, as the basis of future arrangements, the dissolution of the Parliament. Fleetwood was at the head of this section, which, meeting at his residence, was designated the Wallingford House party.* They insisted upon the formation of a council of officers, to which Richard Cromwell gave a trembling assent, under the fear of being deposed if he resisted. To the proceedings of this council Fleetwood alludes in a letter to Vice-Admiral Lawson, one of the most remarkable men of his day. Lawson was a person of obscure origin, who entered the naval service as a common seaman, and by the force of his great merits ascended at last to the rank of admiral. He served under Blake, and acquitted himself gallantly in the engagements with the Dutch. He distinguished himself also against the Algerines; and succeeded Sandwich in the command of the fleet, from which, however, he was afterwards dismissed by the Parliament. Pledged all throughout to the Republican cause, he abandoned it at the last moment, and, in common with Waller, Denbigh, Townsend, Popham and many others, rendered efficient help in carrying out the designs of the Royalists. Lawson died in 1665 of a wound in the knee, which he received in an engagement with his old antagonists, the Dutch.

* It was at Wallingford House the Duke of Buckingham was born.

GENERAL FLEETWOOD TO VICE-ADMIRAL LAWSON.

Sir,

I presume it is not unknown to you that the Council of Officers had resolved upon a Parliament to be called, and sit the 24th of January, before they heard of your desires, as to the return of the Long Parliament, wherein they met with several difficulties, amongst which this was not the least, that they had engaged themselves to my Lord Lambert, and that part of the army in the North, that we would not consent to the return of the Long Parliament without their consent and freedom with us; and since their being in those parts, the officers have received an account that they have declared against the Parliament return: this together with other reasons (which will be imparted to you), they conceive themselves obliged to continue in their former resolutions, for writs to issue for the election of a new Parliament, upon qualifications, the consideration of which, how they may be made practical, and thereby prevent the hazarding of anything wherein the true interest of our cause hath been, as also that there may be such principles laid down and asserted by us, for the preserving thereof as the armies and navies of this Commonwealth will stand by: the Council in order to these two weighty considerations, have desired that you would please to appoint certain persons to consider with them about it, how both may be fixed unto mutual satisfaction; they being desirous to their utmost endeavours, for a happy composure of all difference betwixt us, having so great a value and esteem for you and the rest of the officers with you, if it may stand with your conveniency. It will be advantage to our public affairs, if you will appoint

some persons to confer of these things upon the place here, than for us to send down to the fleet. And believe it, sir, whatever may be designedly objected against us, yet you will find this army fixed to anything which may preserve the interest of this cause, and ready upon all occasions to express affection to yourself, and the fleet with you, in which upon all occasions you shall find me ready to approve myself

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

December 21*st*, 1659.

The actual approach of the King, and the joy of the nation at the immediate prospect of his Restoration, form the subject of the following letter to Mr. Evelyn.

JOHN SCUDAMORE TO MR. EVELYN, ANNOUNCING THE APPROACHING RETURN OF KING CHARLES II. TO ENGLAND.

HONOURED SIR,

HAD I not been ever since my coming over in the country engaged in the embraces of a wife, I should have nothing left to plead my excuse for this silence. Yet rather late than never, I take this opportunity to present my services to you. Well, without any more ceremony, for it has cost me an hour's study to make this preamble, we are almost arrived to our great unexpected felicity, the arrival of our Most Dread Sovereign the King, who we suppose to be now at sea, in order to his coming hither. Never were people so overjoyed, nor so desirous of their Prince's presence, than this kingdom; and as he intends to come with a noble train

of his own subjects, so I doubt not but it will give an invitation to you to make us happy with your company.

Sir, as I have been much engaged to you for the friendly offices you did me at Paris, so I shall now desire both your assistance and advice. At the coronation of the King, I suppose there will be a certain number of the Knights of the Bath made, and in regard some friends have advised me to be one, so I shall desire that favour of you, that if you come not over before the coronation yourself, you will be pleased to give me your letters of commendation to my Lord of Ormond, my Lord Culpepper, or whom else you shall think fit. I remember my father had a great friend of Sir Edward Nicholas, and I believe it will not be amiss to write to him in it; but I leave it to yourself, desiring you both to advise and help me in it; and I shall be ready to serve you in anything you shall command. I assure you I am very unwilling to take this upon me, but that I am earnestly desired by some, whose interest, perhaps, may be good at Court; but many strings to a bow of this nature cannot be amiss, and may easier be done by those about his Majesty's person than by those more remote. I have nothing of news to impart, only Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, are attainted for High Treason, and order gone forth from the Parliament to apprehend all the judges of our late Sovereign, and all their estates, real and personal, are forfeited to his Majesty. Seven of these murderers are excepted out of pardon, but none yet nominated. My Lord Scudamore asks very kindly for you, and often remembers you with much respect. A line, I pray, from you by the first post.

I am, Sir,

Your most devoted servant,

JOHN SCUDAMORE.

London, 17*th May*, 1660.

We now return to the Fairfax papers.

The share which Lord Fairfax took in the Restoration was prompt and decisive. While Monk was yet in command of the army in Scotland (where he had been originally placed by Cromwell), and before any public movement was made towards the accomplishment of that object, Lord Fairfax declared himself for a Free Parliament, and the restoration of the Monarchy, and resolved to place himself at the head of the Yorkshire forces on the 1st January, 1660. It was necessary to communicate this resolution to General Monk; and the task, which was beset with difficulties and perils, was entrusted to Brian Fairfax. Lambert's army lay between Monk and Fairfax, and the Border was infested with moss-troopers, who superadded to their political and religious intolerance something of the recklessness and savagery of a roving banditti. Brian Fairfax executed his dangerous undertaking with signal success, and left behind him the following remarkable account of his journey, his interview with Monk, and his return to Num Appleton.

ITER BOREALE.

Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

I HAVE heard King Charles in his pleasant way of discourse tell how many pretenders there were to have been instrumental, besides those who really were so, in his escape from Worcester, and many more at his Restoration. In the lowest

form of those I may pretend to a place as helping to bring him out of Scotland who brought him, the King, into England, which was more than some did at his Restoration, who were made Lords for it. This I may say, if the service be little, the reward was less. My story is this:

In the month of December 1659. My Lord Fairfax being at his house at Nun Appleton near York, received a letter from General Monk at Coldstream in Scotland, upon the river Tweed, ten miles above Berwick, by Dr. Clergis; it was to desire him to join with him against Lambert's army. He advised with few what answer to return, but there was with him the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Henry Arthington, and Mr. Edward Bowles, minister of York, who had been his chaplain when he was General, a prudent man and dexterous in affairs, and Clergis applied to him to deliver the letter to, and my Lord Fairfax was easily persuaded to consent to it.

Clergis could not return with the answer, having got a fall and hurt his leg; a gentleman of quality undertook it, but thinking to go the direct way into Scotland by Newcastle, he was stopped by Lambert's army. It troubled my Lord F. exceedingly that General Monk should not hear from him, nor was it safe for him to declare against Lambert, or stir from his house, till Monk had notice of the day when he intended to do it, that he might march into England, in case Lambert, or any part of his army should fall into Yorkshire.

Colonel Lilburne lay at York with his regiment watching my Lord Fairfax, but some of his friends had notice of his intentions, and such as had great reputation in the late war under his command, as Major Smythson, Colonel Bethell, and others; but generally in the country, they had no notice, whereof his friends complained afterwards, that he should

engage in so hazardous a design and not acquaint them; but the time was so short, it could not be done.

It was now the 20th of December, and my Lord F. had fixed upon the 1st of January to leave his house, and appear at the head of such forces as in so short a time could be got together, but the most necessary business was yet to do, which was to give notice of it to General Monk.

Now I come to tell my own story, the other being what I heard from those who best knew all particulars.

December 20, 1659. I came accidentally from London and Cambridge to my relations in Yorkshire, and waiting on my Lord Fairfax at Appleton when his friends were with him, late at night he sent for me into his chamber, and the first words I heard him say, were, "Here is my cousin Brian, I will undertake he shall do it." What he meant I knew not, but they asked me if I would go into Scotland. I said with all my heart, where my lord pleased. I little considered the trouble or danger of it; and much less the politic part, being neither old nor wise enough, for only that I knew two armies were facing one another and ready to engage, and we were well-wishers to General Monk.

[They told me I must go next morning; my equiqage was soon ready; they would not let me go take leave of my father a mile off, lest he should hinder my going, and they obliged my brother then with us not to tell him till I was gone, and indeed a far less indulgent father would not easily have consented. My kind relation, Mr. Arthington, and Mr. Bents were to instruct me what way to go and what to say when I came to General M. They considered, I did not (the season of the year being a memorable one for frost and snow), the way I was to take, to avoid Lambert's army, were the hills of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Scotland, but more than all

that which they thought not of, the moss-troopers upon the borders.]*

They told me I must begin my journey next morning. I was to carry no letter, but to tell General Monk, "That my Lord Fairfax had received his letter, and had sent an answer sooner, but the messenger was stopped in Lambert's army. He would join with him against Lambert, who was against all Parliament, and oppressed the countries where he lay by free quarters and contributions. That he resolved, God willing, to appear at the head of what force the country of Yorkshire would meet him with on the first day of January; but desired him to consider the danger he was in from Lambert's army that lay between them, and therefore desired that if any part of it marched back towards Yorkshire, he would advance with his army, and *watch them.*"

This I could easily remember; the next thing was to be directed in my journey, and that my cousin Arthington undertook to do. They would not let me go a mile that night to take leave of my father at Bolton Percy, lest he should hinder my going, and they obliged my brother who was with us, not to tell him till I was gone. The Duke of Buckingham ordered what sort of disguise I should go in, which was like a young country clown, being little better.

The keeper of the park furnished me with clothes, and with an excellent good horse, that seemed to be a very ordinary one. I have reason to remember him, for he was a means of saving my life. The Duke would not let me have sword nor pistol, but my brother put into my hand his cane, which had a rapier in it. My brother and Mr. Arthington went with me next morning to Mr. Bowles at

* The substance of this passage enclosed in brackets appears to be repeated in other places; but it is here given as it is found in the original M.S.

York, who heard me say my lesson, and repeat the message I was to carry to General Monk. Then they considered the danger and difficulties of the voyage. I must not go the ordinary way into Scotland, nor come near Lambert's army, which was quartered in Durham and Northumberland. And the other was a dreadful way, which nothing but frost and snow made passable, over the rivers and hills of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Scotland. My greatest danger they foresaw not, which was the moss-troopers upon the borders.

My cousin Arthington ordered it so that I should go that night to Sir Robert Strickland's at Thornton Bridge, and he writ a letter to him who I was, and whither I was going, and recommended me to his care, who knew all those countries, and had an estate in Westmoreland, and took all the care of me imaginable.

Sir R. Strickland kindly received me, and was more concerned for me than I was for myself. He writ by me to his steward Thomas Shepard at Natland, near Siser, in Westmoreland, who knew those northern countries as well as any man, and had been employed on such like occasions by Sir M. Langdale, when Duke Hamilton entered England, commanding him to go along with me into Scotland; and if our horses failed upon the way, to call at Sir Philip Musgrave's, and some others that he named, to furnish us.

Sir R. Strickland sent his servant with me to his house at Siser, near Kendal, in Westmoreland, whither we came in two days, over the hills and dales of the West Riding of Yorkshire, leaving Richmond on our right hand, lodging the first night at a miserable place upon the moors, without a name.

Mr. Shepard kindly entertained me at his house, and prepared to go with me next morning; but he told me of

more difficulties and dangers than I thought of; that troops and Lambert's army were quartered all the way, and the by-ways watched. But the great danger would be from the moss-troopers, who robbed and murdered on the borders. But he doubted not to tell a fair story, so as to pass the soldiers; and for the moss-troopers, he had an old acquaintance, who had been the captain of them, who lived at Bewcastle, in Gilsland, and he would give us a pass that would secure us.

We went away by moonshine next morning from Natland, and I came not into a bed till I returned thither. We went to Kendal and Penrith, which was full of Lambert's soldiers, so that we durst not tarry there. They examined him, but he satisfied them, and they let us pass. Here I began to feel the cold air upon the hills beyond Penrith—I think they call it Inglewood Forest. My remedy against it was to run up or down hills with my horse in my hand. We came to a village at night, where we refreshed ourselves and our horses; but there came some of Lambert's army, and we had like to have been stopped by them, one of them saying my hands were whiter than ordinary; but my guide pleased them by telling how to cure their sick horses, there being a general disease among them, and they asked no more questions.

The next morning we crossed the river Eden several times, for all was frozen, and we never rid through water in all our voyage. We went near Sir Philip Musgrave's house, but had no occasion to call. Leaving Carlisle about six miles of our left hand, we came to Brampton, near Naworth, in Gilsland, where we rested, as well as we could, all night, to fit ourselves and our horses for the next day's journey into the borders of Scotland. Here was quartered a troop of horse, but most of their horses sick, and my guide was

their farrier. They asked whither we went; he told them to my Lady Graham at Netherby, not far off.

The next morning we went for Bewcastle, which stands in a vale before we enter Scotland. It concerned us to call here of the captain, whose name I have forgot; but we lost our labour, for he was not at home, which put us into some fear.

We had now escaped Lambert's army, and were to steer our course on our right hand, north-east, to Coldstream, Liddesdale, and Tweedale. My guide knew the coast, though he knew not the way. We were to pass the hills of Liddesdale, and go to the banks of the river Tweed, which would bring us to Kelso and Coldstream. The moonshine and the snow made the nights as clear as day. About midnight we came to a village called Castletown, in Scotland, upon the hills.

Here we had the misfortune to have my guide's horse fall lame, that he could but go foot pace, which would not do my business, and what to do without him I knew not. We went into a house, which we saw had a fire in it. I believe it was the best in the town. The firestead was in the middle of the room, the cows at one end, and hogs at the other. The folks lay near the fire, the smoke of which helped to keep them warm, and a flat stone over it to bake an oaten cake on. Here we rested two or three hours, hoping the horse would recover his lameness, but he was rather worse. I had got a nap in a chair by the fireside, and when I waked was impatient to be gone. I had computed my time so as if I did not get to Coldstream the next night, I could not be back again at Appleton by New Year's Day, which, though it was not necessary, yet I had a great mind to be with my Lord Fairfax when he left his house and took the field; besides the satisfaction it would be to my lord to know General Monk's answer.

I desired Thomas Shepard to try if he could hire another guide with a horse to bring me to Kelso, or any other town in my way. While we were talking, a man appears, offering his service, saying he had a good horse, and would bring me to Kelso by next morning. I was glad of his offer, and told him I would reward him, and bid him get ready presently. He was a lusty, raw-boned fellow, and told us of feats he had done, and showed wounds in his arm, which he said he got at Wigan, in Lancashire. I began to suspect my new guide, and my old one liked him worse than I did. He earnestly dissuaded me from venturing with him, telling me he believed he was a moss-trooper. But I was so intent upon Coldstream, and had no other way of getting thither in time, that I resolved to go with him. He was presently at the door a-horseback, and my old guide very unwillingly brought out my horse. I must here bless God for his merciful protection, though I tempted his providence by so foolish and rash an action. But I thought I was doing my duty, and that many men's lives in Yorkshire might depend upon General Monk's marching to their assistance. He had not gone far with me, but he began to play tricks with his horse, galloping and charging about me. I desiring him to mind his way, but he was at it again, and now I plainly saw my own folly, and fell to my prayers that God would bring me out of this danger.

I considered what to do if he attacked me; I had no weapon, for the cane my brother gave me I was persuaded by Thomas Shepard to leave at his house, for fear it might betray me. I saw no weapon he had, but my old guide told me they are never without their daggers. I thought my best way would be, if he came up to me, to try to throw him off his horse, and this thought, by God's blessing, saved my life. He had brought me then about three miles from Castleton,

where I had left my old guide, and a contrary way (as I understood afterwards) from Coldstream, whether he promised to carry me. It was a clear moonshine night, ice and snow under our feet. On a sudden he turns about his horse, and came up to me, took me by the throat, and I think asked for money. I took hold of his throat, and struggling together, I threw him off his horse. His horse ran away, and mine very willingly after him, and galloped back the same way; we came to the very door where we took horse. T. Shepard came out, concluding I was murdered, but seeing me, he held up his hands, thanking God for my deliverance, for says he, I never expected to see you again alive. Since you went I have heard who this fellow is; I interrupted him, desiring him to say to more, but get up upon his lame horse, and let us wander together any way upon the hills till morning. He did so, and then told him what had passed. I had thrown him off his horse, but did not know but he might pursue us. I had not hurt him nor he me. Then he told me he had heard who he was. His name was Anthony Ellott, the most notorious moss-trooper in all the country, and no man more famous for robberies and murders. I have reason to believe it from what I have since heard by Mr. Ronald Gryms, the countryman, that this very Anthony Ellott was hanged at Carlisle the year after, and said nothing troubled him more than that he designed to have robbed a countryman that was going from the King, as he thought, to General Monk, the year before. We found ourselves at a loss for want of a guide, but resolved to have no more horse guides, and wished for a town or a house to direct us. We came at last to a house, and hired the man to guide us to the next town, in the way to Kelso, which he said was Hawick; thither he brought us, and from thence we took another to Kelso, a

pleasant town upon Tweed, and hither we came about sunset. Now we thought ourselves safe, and hearing that Colonel Morgan commanded in the town, I thought by his help I must come sooner to Coldstream, which was, I think, about ten miles below upon the same river Tweed, than if I went on with my lame guide. The soldiers examining us, I told them I desired to be brought to their Colonel.

Colonel Morgan asked me from whence I came. I told him out of Yorkshire. He asked me my business. I told him, being alone, that I was going to General Monk on a message. He said he hoped it was from my Lord Fairfax. I told him it was, and my time is very short, for I was to be with him again the 1st of January, and my guide's horse was lame, which had made me lose a day. He asked kindly how his old General did, and told me I should have his horse, and a groom to go with me to Coldstream, for the way was very dangerous and slippery, and unless my horse was shod for the frost, I could not go upon the banks of the Tweed all the way. I have reason to think he did not conceal it from his officers and soldiers, that Lord Fairfax had sent to General Monk; for when I returned the next day they all knew it, and made Lambert's army know it too, which had a good effect.

Now I feared no moss-troopers, for I had a sword and pistols. The way was so slippery that my own horse could never have carried me. The very groom could tell me he hoped I came on a good errand from my Lord Fairfax in Yorkshire, which I perceived had been given out to encourage the soldiers.

The Colonel told me he would take care of my horse and my guide till I returned the next day. I stayed not above an hour in Kelso, and came to Coldstream about midnight.

I bid the groom go directly to the head-quarters. There I alighted, and desired to be brought to the General, for I had a message to deliver to him. It was a poor little thatched house in a poor town upon the river Tweed upon a little brook that runs into the river, called by that name, over against Wark Castle that gives title to my Lord Gray; and twelve miles above Berwick I was brought up into the room where General Monk was, with four or five persons with him. I knew none of them, nor they me, but since they themselves have told me, there was Dr. Barrow the Judge Advocate, Colonel Knight, Mr. Lock, and I think Mr. Clerk his secretary, Messrs. Gumble and Price chaplains, and Major Miller. I said to him, "If it please your Excellency, I desire to deliver a message to you in private." He took me into a little hole—we must call it a closet—I told him I came from my Lord Fairfax "with an answer to his letter, that he would on the first day of January appear at the head of what force he could in Yorkshire and declare against Lambert's army. But he desired him to watch Lambert, that no part of his army came down upon him." General Monk embraced me, and thanked my Lord Fairfax, and said he *would watch Lambert as a cat watches a mouse*—it was his own expression—and that a troop of horse should not move but he would follow them. I had now done my errand, and received my answer, and desired his Excellency's leave to return immediately, telling him I had lost some time by reason of my guide's lame horse, and another guide I took upon the Borders that would have robbed me. He made me tell the story, and would have had me tell his name if I knew; but that I scrupled and concealed, after he had said he would send immediately to have him and others thereabouts hanged, for he had lost several men about that place.

I was with him an hour, and he sent for a bottle of sack and a piece of roast beef, which his butler brought into the little room to us: he was afterwards bottle-man to King Charles, when I was equerry, and very well he remembered me at Coldstream.

He told me something of his friends at Portsmouth and in Ireland, who, he hoped, would join with him, but what he meant I knew not till afterwards; and when I told it my Lord Fairfax he did not much like it; it was Haslerig, and they that declared for the old Parliament without the secluded members, which they after called the Rump.

General Monk did not seem at all to suspect the truth of what I said, that I came from my Lord Fairfax.

I told him I was a scholar in the University, and his kinsman, and that Colonel Fairfax was my uncle. He told me [he] was quartered at the next house, and I should see him if I pleased. He sent Major Miller with me, and gave him charge of me, to get me a bed; the Major offered me his own, but I only laid down upon it till towards the morning. While I was with the General they brought him word that Major Creed of Lambert's party gave an alarm to the out-guards; there was but the river between them, and that frozen. The General made nothing of it. It seems he was posted too securely with his foot, that he feared not Lambert's horse.

When I came from the General I looked them all in the face in the next room, and remembered some of them afterwards; Major Knight, and Major Miller I knew very well in the Guards, in that regiment of Coldstream; an honest, stout gentleman. He went with me to beat up my uncle Charles Fairfax, his quarters. I told him my lord and my father were well, and we hoped to see him shortly in York-

shire. He knew my business, and said little, but was overjoyed to see me.

Then I went with the Major, and laid down on his bed for three or four hours. Early in the morning I returned to Kelso, where I found my guide and his horse ready; and on we went for England, but not the way we came, though I had now got a sword, and thought myself a match for Anthony Ellot.

We went in sight of Hume Castle and Roxburgh Abbey, and by Hermitage, the seat of Buccleugh, now the Duchess of Monmouth. We went near Netherby, and to Brampton in Cumberland.

And here we saw the effects of what I had observed, and my guide had told me all the soldiers at Kelso talked of. It was reported in both armies that Yorkshire was up in arms, and my Lord Fairfax at the head of them, and declared for General Monk.

We left a troop of horse of Lambert's army at Brampton, six miles from Carlisle, but they were gone, and the people told us they went away in disorder. We found the same at Perth; and it was well the report made them more formidable than really they were, for want of time and notice.

I got to my Lord Fairfax at Appleton, I think it was the eve of New Year's Day, and told him what General Monk said, that he would watch Lambert as a cat watches a mouse, and would march into England upon his first motion.

In my absence, my Lord F. had sent my brother, Henry Fairfax (afterwards Lord F.) with a letter to Colonel Overton, Governor of Hull, to try his pulse, if he would declare against Lambert's army; but he refused. There was less hopes of Lilburne and his regiment at York. The gentlemen of the country were not sent to, as was expected; but for all those

discouragements my lord was resolved to keep his word with General Monk; and the very next morning after my return he went from his house at Appleton, towards his other house at Denton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The Duke of Buckingham went to Knaresborough, to meet the troops under the command of Sir Henry Cholmely, Colonel Bethel, Colonel Smythson, Strangways, &c., who had promised to be ready.

My Lord F. was very ill of a fit of the stone, but went in his coach. I think none [went] with him in the coach but my brother and Mr. Arthington, at whose house we intended to be that night. We were about ten horsemen attending him. I was one of them, being not at all weary with my Northern journey. My lord was forced to stop at a little house, called the Papermill, half way, where he voided a great stone, and went on towards Arthington.

Soon after, about Harewood, we met a party of Lilburne's regiment, that had been conducting some ammunition to Skipton Castle. They ask us whither my Lord F. was going. We told them, to his own house, at Denton. They said there was more in it than so, but let us pass. Then we met Captain Wilkinson, with a party of near one hundred, who came to meet my lord, and were at his service.

At Arthington there came to us Sir Thomas Slingsby, and several other gentlemen of the country, with their friends and attendants, horse and arms; but not fit to oppose Lilburne's old regiment, which we expected would be upon us, next morning, from York; much less Lambert's army. They had seized the powder and bullet that was going to Skipton, so the war was declared.

When my lord was retired into his chamber, and none with him, as I remember, but my cousin Arthington, a man of great prudence and interest in his country, (who married

my lord's sister), my brother and myself, his lordship began to express himself as one that knew what war was better than we did.

"I am beholden," says he, "to these gentlemen that come so willingly to venture their lives on this occasion; but it troubles me that I should bring them into this danger; for we have to do with old soldiers. And if I had but such a troop of horse as I had at the beginning of the war, I could march with them where I pleased." He resolved to go to Denton next morning, hoping by that time more of the country would come to him. They took pity on me, who had been so long without rest, and provided me with a bed, though the house was so full.

Before I fell asleep I heard great knocking at the gate. It was a gentleman, that seemed to be an officer in the army, who asked if Mr. Brian Fairfax was there, he desired to speak with him. I got up, and went to the gate to him. He told me he had been a scholar in Christ College in Cambridge, and knew me very well of Trinity College. He was now an officer (I think a cornet) in the Irish brigade, under Colonel Kelsy, and desired to speak with my Lord Fairfax. I invited him into the house, and acquainted my lord, who bid me bring him to his bedside: he, poor man, was restless with the gout and stone. I think my brother and cousin Arthington were in the room. "My lord," says the officer, "I am sent from the Irish brigade, a body of 1200 horse in the rear of the army, to tell your lordship they are all at your service, and will obey your commands; and I desire to know where you please to appoint them to meet and join with you." My lord thanked them and him, and told him he expected to meet some of his friends in a day or two upon Marston Moor, and desired that place might be the rendezvous.

It was not fit to discover to the officer how very welcome this news was to us in the condition we were in, but we made much of him. I am sorry I have forgot his name; but I had an opportunity of doing him a service, by the Duke of Buckingham's help, and other recommendations, upon this account. He had a command in the army in Ireland, where he and Captain Stroud, who, I think, was his captain, lived several years after.

And now one regiment after another in Lambert's army, as they came away, declared for their old General, and there did not want some about him that would have persuaded him to take upon him the command; but he absolutely refused it, and bid them obey General Monk.

The next day we went to Knaresborough, where we met some formed troops, under old officers, that had served in the war; and here we met the Duke of Buckingham, which gave occasion to some officers to say it was a Cavalier design, and they would not be satisfied till he went away from us. Nor did the jealousy cease then.

The next day we met the Irish brigade upon Marston Moor, six miles of York. The officers, whose names and persons I remember, were Kelsy, Goodman, Stroud. They came with all civility and respect to my Lord Fairfax, but they seemed to have a reserve to themselves, as if by conversing with some of our own officers, or corresponding with Lilburne's regiment in York, they had the same jealousy of a Cavalier design. And I fancy, if they had not stood in awe of Monk, who was then marched into England, we should have heard more of them.

The next day we expected to march into York, but the gates were shut upon us, and there it was that some of the Irish brigade tendered a paper to my Lord Fairfax, declaring

against any government by a single person, &c.; which I saw him tear before their face, and immediately went to the head of his own troops, and were drawn out in the fields towards Popleton, facing one another.

I was now really afraid that we were going to charge one another, which was a new thing to me, and I did not like it. I never stirred from my Lord Fairfax, and I had an excellent horse that the Duke of Buckingham valued at 100*l.* under me, with suitable accoutrements. But my heart had failed me had not my Lord Fairfax's looks encouraged me. He began to be another man, his motions so quick, his eyes so sparkling, giving the word of command like a General, that I took heart, and I think could have charged with him.

Thus far I observed; but know not the reason that hindered us from fighting. Our friends were all this while contending for us in York, Sir Philip Monckton and others, but no fighting. I am persuaded that General Monk's hovering over us, and we declaring for him, kept these men in awe, who finding their own strength, had a mind to impose what laws they pleased upon us, but doubted the consequence. Their Colonel, Zanchy, was all this while with Lambert, and never left him, which makes me reflect upon the message I carried to General Monk, which was so punctually observed on both sides, and with so happy success; for as the report of my Lord Fairfax rising in Yorkshire did alarm Lambert's army, and was a great occasion of their deserting him, so the report of General Monk's march into England, kept them in awe, that they durst not offer any affront, or violence to him, or the country gentlemen that were with him.

We quartered at Popleton that night, at my lord's sister's house, Mrs. Hutton.

Jan. 4.—Now one great work was done, Lambert's army

routed without bloodshed, and himself ran away with Zanchy and a few men with him into the south. But the greater work remained for Monk to do, which by degrees he did, and had the honour and reward of it.

Jan. 6.—The next morning I was sent post to London, with a letter* to Lenthall the Speaker, whom the army at London had owned for their General, aud placed him in his chair again, though but pro tempore. My lord was informed that a man was sent up the day before with a letter to him, from those officers, when we had no reason to trust, with a relation of what had passed in Yorkshire : these letters proved to be from Monk himself, and this man I was to endeavour to overtake upon the way to London, which I did, and got to London half a day before him. I delivered the letter to the Speaker at the Rolls in Chancery Lane, which looked like the head-quarters of a General rather than Speaker of the House of Commons. I was received coldly enough, for we were not thought his best friends in Yorkshire. And now I remember what General Monk said to me at Coldstream, concerning his friends at Portsmouth, meaning Haslerig, &c., whose life he afterwards saved, but surely they could not think we did all this for their sakes, though they would have the world believe we did.

By this journey I took an opportunity of being with my Lord Fairfax when General Monk visited him, being lame of the gout, at Appleton, where I might have hoped to receive both their thanks together, but I was told they embraced one another and Monk acknowledged the service he had done, and offered up the command of the army to him,

* The letter was from my Lord F., Sir H. Cholmely, and Henry Arthington, of their having declared against Lambert, who had oppressed the country, and thanks were ordered.

which he refused, but told him his opinion. My lord told him his mind, that there was no peace nor settlement to be expected in England but by a Free Parliament, and upon the old foundation of Monarchy, which was farther than any of the addresses went. The answer was not such as gave any great satisfaction, but perhaps it was his reservedness, for he had no reason to suspect my lord's sincerity, who had given him such testimony of his affection to him. The City of York was delivered up to my Lord Fairfax before General Monk came, and before he got to London the gentlemen of the country universally met at York, and agreed upon an address to him, declaring for a Free Parliament, and till that was chosen they would pay no taxes.* I know not but this

* The following letter to the Editors of the Congregational Magazine, published in February 1831, contains some curious particulars concerning the interviews at York between Fairfax and Monk, and also the account of Dr. Bowles to which reference has been made in a previous part of this work.

THE REV. E. BOWLES AND THE RESTORATION.

To the Editors,

In the "Historical Notices of Nonconformity at York," which appears in your Number for December last, The Rev. Edward Bowles is mentioned as having been "particularly active about the Restoration; that he highly approved of that measure; and that he accompanied Lord Fairfax to Breda."

The following interesting anecdote concerning Mr. Bowles is related on very high authority. "At this city (York) the General (Monk) staid five days, one of which being Sunday, he went to the Cathedral, and heard a sermon by Mr. Bowles, chaplain and chief counsellor to Lord Fairfax. This Lord visited the General frequently, and had much secret discourse with him. One day they dined together privately in the General's own chamber, while the principal officers and others were invited and entertained at a public table by his chaplain deputed for that purpose. This chaplain was Dr. Price. It seems that the night of the day on which the Lord Fairfax and the General dined privately together, Mr. Bowles was sent for by his Lordship to confer with the General, and they were in close conversation till after midnight, for about that time, Dr. Price entering the chamber to go to prayer, as usual, he found him and Bowles in very private conversation, the General ordering him to go out, but not to bed. After Bowles was gone, he called the Doctor to him, commanding his servant to stay behind. He took him close to him and said, 'What do you think, Mr.

was the first address of its kind in England, and they all signed it, and my Lord Fairfax amongst the rest, and they chose Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir John Dawny, after Lord Down, to carry it: but they made it their joint request to my Lord Fairfax that he would not only sign it with them,

Bowles has pressed me very hard to stay and declare for the King, assuring me that I shall have very great assistance.' The Doctor was startled at the boldness of the proposition."*

But although this distinguished and excellent man, in common with many others, was wearied with the numerous changes which occurred near the closes of the interregnum, and alarmed at the increasing power of the army, so as to feel very anxious for the return of the King, it would be an act of injustice not to state, that Mr. Bowles was afterwards very much dissatisfied with the character of Charles II. The following anecdote is sufficient proof of this, while it is abundantly characteristic of this intrepid Nonconformist: — Mr. Bowles, of York, had a great share in the Revolution. By his interest Monk's army marched from Scotland through Yorkshire without opposition. He was one of the ministers sent to Breda to hear the King at his prayers; and when he saw what impiety and sorrow was coming upon the nation, the prospect drove him out from London, and perhaps out of the world. The last visit he made in town was to his old acquaintance the Duke of Albemarle (Monk). He talked to him to this purpose: 'My lord, I have buried the good old cause, and am now going to bury myself. I never expect to see your Grace more in this world, and therefore must be so plain as to say, that you have had greater opportunities than any other person to make the King happy and the people easy; and all this you have given up for a feather in your cap, a little trifling honour; but the Lord says of you as he did of Coniah, "Write this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days, none of his seed shall prosper. This title will be mentioned with a reproach to yourself, and, after your son has had it a little while, it will go out in a snuff." That day the good man went homewards and was met at Doncaster by several of the ministers in that county, and, as one of the company told me himself, he bewailed what he had done; exhorted them to take care they did not make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; and in a little time after died at York, delivering those words not long before his death, "Thou wast a God that forgavest their iniquities, though thou tookest vengeance on their inventions." When this last passage was told to the Duke it gave him a great commotion, and he spoke like a person in sore distress; "This was a man of God, and none of his words shall fall to the ground."—*Appendix to the Rev. T. Bradbury's* Εικων Βασιλικη, *a Restoration Sermon*, p. 33.

* Drake's Eboracum, p. 173, as quoted in Mr. Hadfield's Report of his Majesty's Commissioners concerning Dame Sarah Hewley's Charities, p. 45.

as he had done, but write a particular letter to General Monk to the same purpose with the address, which he did at large, and sent me with it, and I am sorry I have not a copy of it; the answer to it from the General is among other letters in my Lord F's. study at Denton. The answer was that he referred all these things to the Parliament.

This letter my lord sent by me, for I was now thought a mettle horseman. I overtook Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir J. Dawny, both my kinsmen, at Stamford, and they were very kind to me; but I went before them, and delivered the letter to the General at Drapers' Hall in London. He received me extreme kindly, and thanked me for my journey to Coldstream. He ordered Mr. Clerk, his secretary, to write an answer, which he signed, and I returned with it to my Lord Fairfax.

After this, I may say, I went to bed and took some rest, having had little since I went into Scotland to this time, which was well for a Cambridge scholar.

Not long after a Parliament was called, and the King restored my Lord Fairfax, being one of the Commissioners sent to invite him into England: I attended him to the Hague. My Lord Gerrard was sent by his Majesty to bring him to Court, where the King received him very kindly, and Mr. Edward Bowles with him.

I hoped at this happy Restoration my fortune (as they call it) would have been made. I waited on the General at the Cockpit, and he made me dine with him, and placed me near himself at full table, and spoke of the service I had done. But the Duke of Buckingham, who married my lordship's daughter, being now restored to his great estate, would employ me in receiving his rents, and paying all his money, till my friends advising me of the danger, I gave it over, and

thought I escaped well that I was not oppressed under the ruins of his fortune.

When he was Master of the Horse, the first equerry's place that fell, he recommended me to the King, who freely gave it me, and I served him faithfully to his death.

King James did not think me fit to be his equerry, so I retired to my friends in Yorkshire. In the year 1688 I went into Holland, on no other business but to wait on the Prince and Princess of Orange. The Duchess of Buckingham was godmother to the Princess, and sent a letter by me to her, which I delivered; and her Royal Highness writ one again to her Grace, and gave it to me for her. She was then at Hounsterdike, near the Hague. There we waited also on his Highness the Prince of Orange, who was pleased to ask me from what part of England I came. I told him from Yorkshire, where all prayed for his Highness's health and happiness. I presented my son Brian to him, about thirteen years old. He asked how many I had. I told him two sons more, and I hoped they would live to do him service.

I had a great mind to see my Lord Macclesfield before I returned. He was then at Groningen. We were to go by Amsterdam, and over the Zuyder sea. My son and I went by ourselves, and stayed three days at Groningen. About ten days after I left my Lord Macclesfield, he received a letter of the design the Prince of Orange had to come into England. Had he known it when I was with him, I had the honour to be so much in his good opinion, that I believe he would have acquainted me, and kept me with him, to come with the Prince into England. But it pleased God to order it otherwise, and I knew nothing of it till I came to London.

After this happy revolution, and King William established in the throne, all I desired was my old place of equerry, which

my noble friend my Lord Macclesfield told the King of, and he made me his equerry, and I served him three years in that place, and it was neither the dangers, nor fatigues of the war, nor any attendance, could have made me uneasy in my place, which was my freehold, and an honourable employment at Court, with a suitable salary. But I thought it looked too like a soldier's life, which I was always averse from in myself or my children, though I might have stayed at home, and pleaded *Jus trium liberorum*, and none could have objected it to me; yet I thought the office of an equerry required a younger man, and a fair opportunity offering of being secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, my countryman and old friend, I embraced it, and he moved the King to let me resign my place of equerry, and have a recompence for it, which I was so unwise to do before I received what he promised the Archbishop to give me, and the recompence it is yet to come.

July 10*th*, 1699.

Should I write more it must be out of the Chronicle, and that is not worth my time.

Dec. 26.—The Speaker and members of Parliament then in town met at Whitehall, and then to the Parliament House, the soldiers shouting. Orders were sent to the forces under Lambert to obey the Parliament. They voted pay.

Dec. 23—Whitlock afraid for acting in the Committee of Safety.

The soldiers revolting from Fleetwood, some of the old members and Speaker gave orders, and were obeyed.

Intelligence from Haslerig that he was coming to them from Portsmouth.

Kelsy was all the while with Lambert.

Lawson and Zanchy's brigade declare for the Parliament. Whitlock's mem.

Jan. 6.—Letters from the Lord F., Sir H. Cholmeley, and Arthington, of their raising volunteers for the Parliament, and taking of York, and complaining of Lambert. Assessments upon the country. Thanks ordered.

Dec. 27.—Letters from Monk, speak of an obstruction in the treaty, for that Haslerig, Walter, Morley, acted at Portsmouth by the said authority, and Lambert had desired a pass for his messengers. Wildman and Whitlock had consulted about a free state.

Jan. 2.—Order to remove Charles Stuart.

Jan. 4.—Letters from Monk in Scotland to adhere to the Parliament, and to march against Lambert. The messenger related that he met Lambert with fifty horse at Northampton; that all his forces and himself, my Lord Fairfax and his forces, and York, had all submitted to this Parliament.

Letters from Monk, owning his prevarications with Fleetwood for the service of the Parliament, and promising obedience.

Letters from my Lord Fairfax, Cholmeley, and Arthington, as aforesaid.

Monk's answer to the addresses was—That he was but a servant to the Parliament in a military capacity, and these things of a civil concernment were to be left to the Parliament.

Addresses by some for the secluded members, others for a free Parliament.—Jan. 23.

After the Restoration was accomplished, and Fairfax had the happiness of witnessing the joyous ceremony of the coronation, the King riding a horse which the old

Parliamentary General had consecrated to him, with a copy of extremely indifferent verses (the greatest men sometimes commit follies of this kind in their old age, and it is well with the good-natured veteran that he is chargeable with nothing worse!) Lord Fairfax retired again to his retreat amongst the pastures and orchards of Nun Appleton. But he had not altogether relinquished his ancient interest in the peace and stability of the kingdom; and we find him three years afterwards, when reports of plots and machinations against the monarchy were abroad, writing to his son-in-law to admonish him upon the course he ought to take on an occasion of such emergency. Buckingham at this time enjoyed the full favour of the Sovereign.

FOR HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

When I understood from my cousin Brian Fairfax of dangerous designs now in acting, I could not satisfy myself in hope they were but rumours, but should have waited on your lordship personally, to express a duty every one owes to the King and his country at such a time; but not able to, for want of health, I can pray only for a good success in finding out those that are the cause of these troubles, and wish I could contribute anything by my advice in it. But I hope, when you have taken a view of the forces, and put such officers over them whose discretion and moderation will more sweeten than exasperate the spirits of men, and find out the real offenders, rather than suppose them,

these distempers will soon blow over, and bring those offenders to light which now escape away clear, under the shadow of some innocents, but suspected criminals. There cannot be too much care, I confess, in preventing these mischiefs; and I know nothing will do it better, than to have discreet and sober officers; as they are likest to do their own duty, so no honest and sober man but will be ready to do his in giving intelligence, advice, and assistance to them on all occasions, when those destroy unity by keeping up distinctions which both the King and the Parliament in great wisdom have thought fit to bury in oblivion, and this I doubt not hath caused many to seem enemies which are real friends. But I shall plead for no man, but leave such to clear their own integrity, which, if they do, your lordship will do a great act of justice, service to his Majesty, and honour to yourself, not to let them be destroyed and ruined by some men's private passions, under colour of doing public service. Your lordship may be a good instrument in accommodating many things by your presence here, which your own observations will best direct you in; and though I had not a talent, I could not withhold my mite from offering it for the peace of my country; and that your lordship might be a happy instrument of it, is the desire of, my lord,

Your Grace's most affectionate

And humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

October 14*th*, 1663.

There is but one letter more ;* it is addressed to a lady (supposed to be Lady Clinton) ; and refers chiefly

* This letter is the last in the handwriting of Lord Fairfax. A letter published in the Memoir (p. 149) is mentioned as the last record of his hand ; but this (addressed probably to the same person) has been discovered since.

about this result :—a year of confusion and distrust on all sides. Monk acted with the double-dealing caution which characterised his whole life. He waited upon events ; hazarded nothing till he saw clearly which way the stream ran; and then declared for the King when the whole question was narrowed to a choice between the King and Lambert. Clarendon accurately describes the process of conversion in Monk's mind in these words: —"It was the King's great happiness that he [Monk] never had it in his purpose to serve him till it fell to be in his power, and indeed till he had nothing else to do." *

The conduct of Monk throughout the Civil War and the Protectorate was that of a man who trimmed his sails with every fluctuation of the winds. Like Fairfax, he had strong personal grounds of animosity against Cromwell ; but, unlike Fairfax, he made his feelings and opinions subservient to his interests. It is impossible to trace the salient points of his career without arriving at a conviction that no great event in history was ever effected by a baser instrument.

We find him, on the breaking out of the war between Charles I. and the Scots, serving his sovereign gallantly

* Oxford edition. The real character of Monk, the aversion in which he was held by the Royalists themselves, his meanness, hypocrisy, and selfishness, were never thoroughly exposed until the publication of the whole of Clarendon's MSS. in the Oxford edition. To the suppressions, alterations, and interpolations by the original editors, (in no instance more conspicuous than in that of Monk), may be mainly attributed the false historical estimate which had previously descended to us of his life and character. Other works published within the last thirty years have cleared up many obscure passages in his career ; and the Memoirs of Sir George Mackenzie may be specially cited as covering him with infamy, by the full disclosure of his perfidy to the Marquis of Argyll.

(for, with all his faults, he was a brave soldier), afterwards distinguishing himself in Ireland, and next acting, under a commission from the King, as Major-General at the siege of Nantwich. By accepting this appointment, he at once pledged himself to the cause of the Royalists against the Parliament. At Nantwich he was taken prisoner by Fairfax, sent to London, and lodged in the Tower. His Majesty had so much reliance upon his devotion, that (scarce as money was in the royal treasury at the time) he forwarded Monk 100*l.* to mitigate the privations of his imprisonment. But Monk, nothing loth to avail himself of the royal bounty, was equally accessible to a bribe on the other side. Seeing that the King's cause was declining, he purchased his liberty by taking the Covenant * and a commission under the Par-

* Monk's friends were so thoroughly ashamed of this act, that they endeavoured to evade the acknowledgment of it. Dr. Gumble, one of his own chaplains, in his Life of Monk, (1671), tries hard to shut it up in a sort of historical *oubliette*. "Being about," says this veracious Gumble, "to step out of the Tower, he meets with a great obstruction at the threshold—he must fall down and worship the Scottish idol of the Covenant,—a condition to which he, a loyal and true believer, cannot easily be brought to submit. He had many conferences, both with the clergy and laity, who were his fellow-sufferers in the Tower; but what was the issue of their deliberations, and whether he took the Covenant, I cannot with certainty affirm. This I know, *he loved not the remembrance of that troublesome firebrand.* This Covenant was imposed when I was a child, and was almost forgotten in the nation. A late act for removing it recalled the memory thereof. Balls of wild-fire should be quenched in silence, and cast out of the way of observation. Among a divided people water is more necessary than fire or zeal. Moses, that delivered the Israelites, was of a calm and meek spirit; and without controversy, nothing is so healing of the wounds of a nation as forgiveness and forgetfulness." This passage is given merely as a sample of the clumsy expedients to which Monk's admirers and parasites were driven in their attempts to make out a character for him. Gumble had even less excuse in affecting ignorance on the vital fact of the Covenant oath than most other writers, as he tells us that he was in Monk's confidence, and that he had the whole of that part of his life from his own lips.

liament. His biographers have endeavoured to palliate this act of ingratitude and infidelity by the flimsy excuse that he never entered upon terms with the Parliament while the King had sufficient power to keep the field. It does not appear to have occurred to his apologists that, in setting up this excuse for his desertion of his party, they substantiate the charge in its worst aspect. He was faithful to the King so long as the King was able to maintain his ground, and abandoned him in the hour of his greatest need. Fine-weather loyalty was this of General Monk, who, entering prison as a martyred Cavalier, issues forth after a while at the head of a battalion of Roundheads!

And further, what becomes of this excuse when the same George Monk is discovered under the banners of Cromwell in Scotland, acting as Lieutenant-General of artillery against the Prince, who had raised his standard in Cromarty, in expectation that all loyal men would rally round him? It was at least one thing to enter the service of the Parliament when the King's cause was over, and another to render active service against its re-establishment. And Monk's service on this occasion appears to have utterly annihilated the prospects of the Prince, if his biographers may be believed, for they claim for him the whole merit of the victory of Dunbar. It is curious and instructive to note the flagrant sophistry into which these defenders of Monk are driven in their forlorn attempts to prop up his reputation. They assert that Cromwell took

no measure of importance without his advice; that he it was who proposed to give the Royalists battle on the heights of Dunbar; that great opposition was made to the proposal; but that he charged up the hill, pike in hand, at the head of three regiments of foot, and decided the fate of the day. On the one hand they claim for him the glory of having destroyed the hopes of the Royalists and helped Cromwell (whom, they insist upon it, he secretly hated all the while) to the supreme power; and endeavour on the other hand to make the world believe that he did all this for the purpose of acquiring the means to promote the Restoration! He crushed the King's party to secure the confidence of the Commonwealth, in order that he might the more effectually serve the King's cause! It was a far-sighted scheme; a black-art calculation of the future, amounting to divination, and worthy of being chronicled next to that famous prophecy of Langbourne, a Romish priest, who, formerly visiting Monk in the Tower, foretold from the secret marks and lines in his face that, within a few years, he would be the greatest man in the three kingdoms.*

* Monk believed, or affected to believe, in these superstitions. We have no less an authority for the fact than his panegyrist Gumble, who would certainly have set nothing down concerning him which he did not believe likely to redound to his honour. Being at Dalkeith in 1657 (about six years after he had vanquished Charles on that very spot!), he told a friend, says Gumble, "that the King would be restored before the thirtieth year of his age [a near hit!]; and, being asked how he came to know it, replied, he had it from one that had cast his nativity. The other rejoined, that he had also heard something of a like nature, about the King's being restored by a *Monk*. Here some other persons entered the room, and the discourse was dropped." And upon such materials the historians of Monk rest the assertion that he had all along meditated the design of restoring the King.

For this service, Monk was left in Scotland by Cromwell in the capacity of Commander-in-chief. No man fitter to be confided in while affairs were prosperous. In the meanwhile, Cromwell ascended to the Protectorate, and Monk was employed in the Dutch war, which ended in a peace of which he openly disapproved. But his scruples on that point were appeased by his re-appointment to the command in Scotland, where he enjoyed a five years' repose in a country seat belonging to the Countess of Buccleugh.

During this period the surface of communication was apparently smooth and confidential between Monk and Cromwell; but there was an old grudge and a lurking doubt beneath, which sometimes gave a strange colour to their epistolary intercourse. With Monk, this secret discontent dated as far back as his liberation from the Tower, and his first service under the Parliament in Ireland, when he was censured and forgiven in the same breath for concluding a peace, from which Cromwell afterwards derived some important advantages. Cromwell's distrust of Monk may have originated at the same time. He probably never cordially relied upon a soldier who had joined his party and gulped the Covenant under such suspicious circumstances; and a short time before his death, in an ominously playful postscript to a letter, he gave Monk to understand that there was a whisper in the air which it was desirable to silence, or it might gather into thunder. "There be that tell me," said Cromwell's postscript, "that there is a certain

cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there for Charles Stuart; I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me!" And the thunder would have shattered the towers of Dalkeith if Monk had stirred a finger on behalf of the Stuart while Cromwell lived. Monk took the hint, and availed himself of every opportunity to testify his allegiance to the Protector.

How he continued to hold his command under Cromwell, and to keep in at the same time with the King's friends, is inexplicable; but no doubt of the fact can now be reasonably entertained. He was regarded all throughout as the most likely person to assist in the Restoration, whenever affairs should be ripe for a declaration. His instinct in gliding out of a falling house, appears to have been thoroughly appreciated on both sides; and at the moment when Cromwell was oppressing him with favours, the exiled Prince was privately assuring him that he possessed his Royal Highness's entire confidence. There is a letter extant from the Prince to Monk, written in 1655 (about two years after Cromwell had assumed the title of Protector) in which, with a judicious oblivion of Tower treacheries and Cromarty hostilities, he invokes that latent loyalty which he knew would be ready to show itself whenever loyalty should be again at a premium in the market. "*One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well,*" are the opening words of the letter, very insidious and full of a sinister meaning, "assures me,

that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the first seasonable opportunity; *which is as much as I look for from you.* We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect; when it is, let it find you ready; and in the meantime have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards your, &c." With consummate tact, Monk forwarded this very letter to the Protector, and thus made himself safe with both parties; for how could he so well serve the Stuart as by securing the confidence of Cromwell, or how more effectually secure the confidence of Cromwell than by betraying the Stuart? Whatever turned up, Monk was the man for the occasion.*

He pursued the same policy to the last. Richard Cromwell had no sooner succeeded to his father than Monk sent in his adhesion, and proclaimed the new Protector at the Cross of Edinburgh; and it was not until Thurloe and the rest had entirely broken down, and the army under Lambert began to waver, that he moved in the project for the restoration of the King. And his first steps were, as usual, so cautious as to be easily retraced.

* His panegyrist, Gumble, who defends him through thick and thin, unintentionally admits his treachery, but turns it over to the account of his zeal for the throne. "If ever," says Gumble, "he seemed to trespass upon that limit of loyalty it was like Hushai, *trying to get into a station where he might have the best of opportunity of serving his King.*"

The abdication of Richard Cromwell, and the complete withdrawal of the whole family into private life, (except the wife of Fleetwood, who, loading her husband with bitter reproaches for having been instrumental to their fall, is understood to have instigated him to the extreme measures he pursued in conjunction with Lambert,) cleared the ground for that open breach between the Parliament and the Army, which ended in a military revolution. The famous Remonstrance of the officers, in which they disclaimed all intention of setting up any single person in the supreme authority, and vindicated their own right as freemen, and the right of the people at large, to petition Parliament, being treated with contempt, and Lambert, Desborough, and others deprived of their commissions; the Army, as upon former occasions, undertook to redress themselves. Lambert, investing the military posts and avenues of Westminster, turned back Lenthall and the members, and took forcible possession of the House. The Council of State, which had risen upon the ruins of the Cromwells, was instantly abolished, and a Council of Ten (suggestive of uneasy historical associations) was nominated in its place. The movers in this bold proceeding justified their conduct on the ground of precedent, vindicated themselves in the name of public liberty (the much abused watch-word of all the factions at this time), and declared that they had no other end in view than the establishment of a free Parliament. The following letter from an officer, Captain Henry Watson,

to the Governor of Inverness, enters somewhat fully into the case of the Army, and urges the principal arguments upon which they relied for their defence.

FOR HIS HONOURED FRIEND LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MAN, GOVERNOR OF INVERNESS, THESE.

HONOURED SIR,

I HOLD myself so much obliged by your civilities and other the sad occurrences that these late days have produced amongst us (though I had no other thing to write), to regret the miseries impending our poor nation. Surely, sir, had the common enemy only advanced his design against us all, I had satisfied myself with asserting the interest of God's people and the nations to my power. But this gate of Acheron, which Satan and his instruments have found out to divide the army, is the bitterest portion that ever I yet met with. We are far from news, so that scarcely any intelligence can (as the state of affairs now stand) reach us; yet, through Providence, many of the printed (and some written) papers of both pretenders have come to our hands, which have put us upon the strict search of our hearts, and not only that, but of the justice and equity of the cause of both parties, which we conceive to be the Parliament and army in England. It would be needless for me to repeat the circumstances; but the substance of the whole offence (as is pretended) is the stop put to the sittings of the Parliament by the army in England, and this I see from that letter of the officers of the army in England. I desire of the Lord that neither they, you, nor any honest hearts may be deluded by any specious pretences of any persons how great

soever, but that they would consider (it is easy to word it in any matter though never so erroneous) that they (our friends in Scotland) have confessed, in the sixth query of the foresaid letter, that it is lawful to bear a testimony against this present Parliament (though they so strongly own them the supreme authority of the nation), in case they shall violate the liberties of the people. Compare this confession of theirs with that clause in the answer to the letter, from some officers at Whitehall, to the commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, to be communicated to the officers of the army there, which sayeth, that they (the officers in England) having resisted the Parliament, have resisted the ordinance of God, not to be justified by the highest necessity. If these two be consonant I leave you to judge, or whether they allow not that in themselves for which they condemn our friends in England; and although they thus freely allow it, yet they show no law to justify it, nor is there any but that of nature (viz., self-defence and necessity, which is in a sense all one), though it hath been so often practised by us since our first bearing arms against the King (and surely none will say that this action in itself is now worse than formerly and to former governments, set up with as much freedom as was now this Parliament). And if we have sinned (as the aforesaid letter doth assert our friends have done this time) when we resisted the supreme authority of the King at first, and are now grown sensible of our sin, why do they not move for our return? For they have, as I said, nothing to plead but necessity for all, and the same reason in all points is for the one as for the other; but I request you, sir, consider that this (whatever the pretence may be) is not the real offence; for were it, they would not on any terms have granted it lawful to have borne a testi-

mony against the said Parliament. It may be, to evade this, some will say it is only thereby intended some humble petition, or the like; but to that any man may answer:—first, it is said there to be against them, which was more than the modest expressions used by our friends in England, as may be seen by their papers, for which they were so used by the Parliament. And it might be queried whether those who signed that letter and expression, may not doubt, if the Parliament were in a capacity to resent things, whether that would not turn to as bad an account to them as the modest language of our friends in England hath done to them; nor will it be well for them to forget that they have said it, and so too implicitly lay themselves open to a snare. Secondly, the cause (by way of proviso) is there given why, against them, (viz.) if they (the Parliament) shall violate the liberties of the people; which shows plainly that the stiffest assertors of the authority of this Parliament cannot but own that which they so much decry, (viz.) bearing a testimony against the Parliament, if just ground be found for so doing.

The case is then altered, for it is not the resistance, but the cause and ground of resistance, that is, in truth (whatsoever is the pretence) the great offence taken, which I desire next to consider, and which indeed they do sufficiently clear in those former expressions, viz.—if the Parliament shall violate the liberties of the people. Now I heartily hope our friends in Scotland will not deny our friends in England to be a part of the people, yea, a substantial part of the free people of England (considering all things), and such as have deserved the benefits and privileges that others do enjoy; nor yet were they charged with any crime and convicted thereof, whereby they had forfeited their liberties: since it is so, was it not lawful for them to put up an humble petition to the

Parliament (although it might not have been pleasing to the Parliament) without being so used; not so much as once being heard, or called to answer for themselves, or convicted of their fault; may it not be queried whether ever such a high judicature did the like? may it not also be queried, whether that were asserting the liberties of the people, or no? may not a third query be to our friends in Scotland (if I were a fit person to query), whether they were well pleased when many of them were so served not long since by this Parliament? and whether they thought it consonant to liberty and privileges, or not? But I forbear to trouble you. I could insist also upon the calumnies which were cast on our friends in England, as if they were introducing a single person, when as nothing is more plain than the contrary (if we may believe their writings, for which we have as good warrant as for those on the other parties), though their traducers do labour to speak much to little purpose in decrying that which none (unless themselves) do assert; I desire not to say what such insinuations look like, whether a resolution to quarrel or not.

But, alas, I know not whether I should wish it were not too evident, that a spirit of revenge for former affronts (as some call them), did and doeth too much appear in these actions, and the machinations of evil minded men to deride and break this army, the bulwark and fence instrumentally of God's people in these nations, and to let in the boars of the forest into the Lord's vineyard; but what saith the Scripture, "He that breaketh a hedge, a serpent shall bite him."

I shall not be longer troublesome to you, though I could have much enlarged, only do make it my faithful and humble request to you seriously, again to consider these

things, and let not any thing but truth and righteousness sway you. We all here, both officers and soldiers, are very unanimous, and do own our dear friends, the army in England, and do wish from our souls, that both you and all who have the fear of God before their eyes, would not fear to do so too: in the mean my prayer to God the Lord of Hosts, is, that he will, in mercy to us all, reconcile these differences, and all other betwixt them and our friends in Scotland; for whom, also, we have tender love and respects, and for the accomplishment whereof, is, and shall be, the earnest desire and prayer of

Honoured sir,
Your real friend and servant,
HEN. WATSON.

P.S. Sir, however you are pleased to accept this from so [humble] an instrument, let me request you to be alike towards me as ever, and let me have your regard as before.

Inverness, 1st December, 1659.

Many persons held, in common with Captain Watson and Lambert's officers, that the Parliament had, in the first instance, violated the liberties of the people, and so drawn upon themselves and the country the violent reprisals which followed. But the motives of the chief actors were not quite so clear and patriotic as Watson represents them to have been. It was suspected that their real design was to erect themselves into an oligarchy, which was only prevented from being carried out by the multitude of theories and divisions of opinion

which at that moment of misrule distracted the public mind. Infinite were the varieties of projects of government which were thrown up to the surface in the agitation: a standing senate, to act in conjunction with the Commons; a popular assembly, and executive council; two popular councils—the one to debate and propose laws, the other to decide; and a sort of select assembly, in the nature of the Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, which should exercise a negative in the essentials of government;* and out of this medley of speculative forms arose Lambert, with the army at his back, concealing, under the pretence of re-establishing the Commonwealth, his secret design of seizing upon the supreme authority for himself.†

Such was the state of things—revolt and chaos on all sides—when Lambert appeared in the North, for the ostensible purpose of negociating with Monk, who maintained friendly relations with the provisional

* A sketch of these skeleton constitutions will be found in Ludlow, who professed himself willing to favour either of the two last mentioned.

† Fleetwood seems to have been the person who drew suspicion upon Lambert amongst the honest Republicans who were originally induced to join him in the establishment of the Council of Ten. Monk's tergiversations and extravagant protestations against Kingship awakened the distrust of Whitelocke, who detected, under all this parade of Republicanism, merely an excuse for delay, that he might the more securely prepare the way for bringing in Charles II.; Whitelocke immediately communicated with Fleetwood, and urged him to ensure his own safety, and that of his friends, by sending an envoy to invite the King to return. Fleetwood agreed to the proposal. In the meanwhile he had an interview with Desborough and others, and returned to Whitelocke, declaring that he had changed his intention, as he had been reminded, in the interval, that he was pledged to Lambert to do nothing of that sort without his consent. Whitelocke in vain urged upon him the peril in which he stood. He could do nothing without Lambert. "Then," said Whitelocke, "you will ruin yourself and your friends."

government, as he had previously done with that of Richard Cromwell.

The resolution taken by Lord Fairfax, to place himself, on the 1st January, at the head of the Yorkshire forces, determined the movements of Monk. He had thrown out no sign of his intentions until he received the message from Lord Fairfax, which was delivered to him by his lordship's kinsman. And even then Lord Fairfax was in advance of him. The first great peril was encountered by the old general when, departing from Nun-Appleton in his coach, with a scanty cortège of ten horsemen, he went forward to raise the county of York. It was a moment of intense interest when this small train of gentlemen were met, on the highroad near Harewood, by a party of Lilburne's regiment, who questioned them as to whither they were going. To his lordship's house at Denton! They did not believe it; thought there was more in it; but out of respect for Fairfax, they let them pass. Had they arrested them, as they were well disposed to do, it is doubtful what effect this sudden advantage, on the threshold of action, might have had on Lambert's followers, or even on Monk himself. But the presence of Lord Fairfax acted like a spell upon the soldiers, and as he moved on towards Knaresborough, his appearance was everywhere hailed with such enthusiasm that Lambert's army was "routed without bloodshed." There is a fine reminiscence of the heroic spirit of his earlier days in the incident before the gates of York, where Lord

Fairfax, tearing, before their faces, the paper in which the Irish brigade protested against any government by a single person, immediately took the head of his troops, and drew them out into the fields. "He began to be another man," says Brian Fairfax, "his motions so quick, his eyes so sparkling, giving the word of command like a general, that I took heart, and I think could have charged with him."

To this bold movement of Lord Fairfax, and the great weight and influence of his name, may be ascribed the rapid success of the whole undertaking. His heart was in the cause; and from the outset he refused to appropriate to himself the honour of the enterprise, content with the nobler satisfaction of seeing it safely accomplished. The soldiers that came over from Lambert declared for their old general, and would have persuaded him to take the command, but, says Brian Fairfax, he "absolutely refused it, and bid them obey General Monk." When Monk visited him at Appleton, he offered to relinquish the command into his hands, but he again refused. The contrast between them is favourable at all points of contact to the purity, disinterestedness, and integrity of Fairfax.

In one peculiarity alone they appeared to have resembled each other. They were both silent and reserved. But that which was constitutional in the one, was the result of craft and cunning in the other. One who knew him well, and who meant to pay him the highest compliment in the character he drew of him,

frankly describes the taciturnity and eternal acquiescence of Monk in the opinions of others, as a part of that machinery of profound deception by which he worked out his ends. "It would almost make one despise the pedantry of books and the discipline of schools to see a gentleman, bred amidst the noise of drums and trumpets, outwitting politicians, nursed from their infancy in the arts and habits of a civil life. The General's temper was well adapted to the business he had to conduct. He was of a disposition silent and reserved—one, that thought much, but said little, unless to those he knew and trusted. He had no spirit of contradiction, but would listen with patience and observation to all discourses, without making any cross replies; insomuch that he usually caused people to go away with a persuasion that they had obtained his assent to their proposals. Upon the whole, God did peculiarly fit him for the work he had to perform." Worthy Dr. Gumble, to whom we are indebted for this sketch, and who had not the slightest suspicion of the damage he was committing upon the fame of his hero, shows us to what uses Monk put his remarkable faculty of reserve. "It was an especial artifice of the General's, to seem to be persuaded to that which he really contrived; but he did not like that any should meddle in cases where he could do all himself; and whenever he was forced to employ others, as in these delicate matters, with an art beyond example, he quickly disengaged himself from the obligation." Another of his "especial artifices" was to appoint

a general council of the army to whose opinions he pretended to defer, while he overruled them by a privy council of his own. "And now," says Gumble, putting on the simplest face in the world, "now that we are facing about in politics [approaching the Restoration], needs must we begin to use the old methods [for it seems these feints and tricks were familiar to Monk long before he employed them in the King's service]; so that the General had his *privy council,* which was this committee, and his *great council,* which was all the commissioned officers in the army. A pleasant sight it was to see this General at the end of a long table in a room full of officers, putting the question (as many as consent to the motion, *hold up your hands*;) and then an ensign making a long speech against it, who was but started from a corporal the other day; but all this and more did the General suffer for the good of all and *amor patriæ.*" On his road to York, where he met Fairfax, the mystery deepened. "During the whole march, the General wrapped himself in silence and darkness, and though accosted by many great and worthy persons, gave only a general answer, that his endeavours should never be wanting for the welfare of his country! As he approached nearer to London, he grew more and more reserved, and his confidants took pains to refute the rumours that were circulated against him, and he did himself cudgel some fanatics in Yorkshire for raising a malicious report; all which was to lay asleep the jealousies of the Rump, who dreaded nothing as much as the return of his Majesty."

The habitual reserve of Lord Fairfax was expressly the reverse of this "cunning fence." There was no mystery or deception in it. A slight impediment in his speech imposed upon him the necessity of being rather a listener than a talker. In the council of his officers he rarely entered into discussion; heard all suggestions, and decided upon them. His decision was final. No man could mistake his purpose, or misinterpret his silence. The most conspicuous trait in his character was his soldierly openness.

It must be conceded to Monk that he had a difficult game to play; but he played it like a trickster. He held back so ambiguously in his interview with Fairfax, even after the latter had avowed himself, that the old General, who was apt to be too trustful rather than suspicious of others, entertained grave doubts of his honesty. He wore this mask to the last moment, to the perplexity of friends as well as enemies, and perilled all interests by his impenetrable dissimulation. Broderick, a devoted Royalist, who was in the secrets of every movement of the party, writing to the King, in March, 1660, speaks of his enigmatical conduct in these terms: —"Monk declared he would acquiesce in the judgment of the Parliament both as to King and Lords; another day he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England; but he is in good temper again the same night."* He

* *Clarendon, State Papers.* Similar doubts are expressed by all Monk's contemporaries. "Many," says Pepys in the same month of March, "think that he is honest yet, and some or more think him to be a fool that would raise

alternately provoked and baffled speculation, evidently shaping his policy to meet any emergency, warily watching his opportunity, keeping clear of committing himself to either party, and ready to decide at the final extremity in favour of the strongest. He "called God to witness," in a letter to Lenthall, "that the asserting of a Commonwealth was the only intent of his heart;" entered into an agreement with Lambert, through his commissioners, that a new Parliament should be called, without Kingship, single person, or House of Lords, and then disavowed the agreement, under the pretence that his commissioners had exceeded their authority; he duped the Republicans by similar professions, exclaiming, in a letter to Haslerig, "As to a commonwealth, believe me, sir, for I speak it in the presence of God, it is the desire of my soul;" and he intrigued at the same moment with the Scotch Presbyterians, the council of officers, the late Parliament, with all parties, as has been justly observed, except the Royalists, from whom he kept studiously aloof. He dissimulated with the City and the Parliament, with the Scotch and the English; played off "Cretan against Cretan" in the exchange of hypocritical professions of godliness with Lambert's officers; and declared for the King only when it was no longer possible to avoid it, or, as Clarendon says, when there was nothing else to be done. He did the business,

himself, but think that he will undo himself by endeavouring it." Pepys, who knew him, thought him "a dull, heavy man,"—as heavy as a sphinx. Lord Sandwich used to speak of him as "a thick-skulled fool," who, like all fools, was capable of considerable mischief.

undeniably; but it was done, as honest Pepys observes, "*with some kind of baseness.*" There seems to have been a tacit understanding to let him manage it in his own way; because if he was opposed or thwarted, he had it in his power to ruin everything. Pepys tells us that Lord Sandwich was willing to do all the honour in the world to Monk, and to let him have all the credit of doing the business, although he had the meanest opinion of his sense and capacity. "I do believe," says Pepys, "that there is some agreement more than ordinary between the King and my lord to let Monk carry on the business [this was written in the beginning of May, 1660]; for it is he that can do the business, or at least that can hinder it, if he be not flattered and observed. This my lord will hint himself sometimes."

All contemporary authorities concur in representing the popular feeling as having set in so strongly in favour of the return to Monarchy as to assume the predominance of a national sentiment. This feeling at length became irresistible. Speaking of the meeting of Parliament on the 26th December, 1659, Mrs. Hutchinson supplies the following remarkable confirmation of the fact, which acquires additional weight from her unwilling authority: —"The manner of it, and the contest and treaty in the North between Monk and Lambert, are too well known to be repeated; the dissimulation and false protestations that Monk made, are too public; yet the colonel [Hutchinson] and others suspected him, but knew not how to hinder him; for this insolent usurpation of Lambert's had so

turned the hearts of all men, that the whole nation began to set their eyes upon the King beyond the sea, and think a bad settlement under him better than none at all, or than being under the arbitrary power of such proud rebels as Lambert."* Sir John Bramston, who served in these parliaments with Monk and Fairfax† (who, he tells us, usually sat together), describes the Restoration as the result of the universal distraction, and of the common desire of the people for repose. "It was the Cavalier party," he says; "the loyal gentry, that brought the King home, in truth; for by their constancy to his interest, after plotting and contriving his restitution, though with the loss of their fortunes and hazard of their lives, together with the quarrels and differences amongst the great officers of the armies, and the general unsatisfaction of the people, tired with the oppressions and change of their governors, and the endless dividing into sects and factions, the whole nation was desirous of the King's return, without whom they saw there would be no end of war and trouble."‡

A very complete and succinct review of the "quarrels and differences" which produced all this discontent, and of the proceedings of Monk on his march from Scotland to London, is furnished by the same authority. The passage is valuable as a contemporary statement. "When

* Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson.

† He was returned for Essex along with Mr. Turner, afterwards Sir Edward Turner, and Speaker of the next Parliament.

‡ The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston: printed from the original MS. for the Camden Society.

Cromwell died, and his son was owned and received Protector by some of the officers of the army, though opposed by others, differences grew. Fleetwood and Desborough, great men, and allied to that family, yet thought themselves as worthy as Dick Cromwell; and Lambert, not less ambitious than they, meant to have the command from them all, and set up for himself; but yet Thurloe and the major part of Cromwell's councillors carried [it] for young Cromwell, alleging it was the old Protector's will; and he had possession of the title of Protector, and addresses came to him acknowledging him for such from most counties; yet many would endure no such person. By this means differences grew here. Monk commanded in chief in Scotland, and, by building forts and by garbling his army, had perfectly mastered that nation, of which Oliver was jealous, and in his life-time had sent for him home, which he still evaded and excused, as that he durst not trust the Scots. Lambert knew he should not effect his design if Monk stood; and Monk was certain to be destroyed if Lambert prevailed, or Richard stood. Monk first garbled his army, both officers and soldiers, that he any way had doubt of, or that he could not absolutely rule, and prevailed with the Scots to raise money for his journey into England; and, leaving the principal command of those forces he left behind with Colonel Morgan (a little man, but a very great soldier*), he, with a small army, but well affected

* This belligerent little man was an officer of Lambert's, and had been sent to negociate with Monk; but, instead of returning in discharge of his mission, as a

to him, marches for England; and having by his great taciturnity concealed his design, and, temporising, fooled Scott and Robinson, two spies sent from the Rump to discover his design, he came by easy marches to London, refusing to come into the City until the other army was removed thence to other quarters, pretending the hazard and danger of quarrels if both armies should be mingled in the same quarters. As he came through the several counties, he was visited by all parties, the Lord Fairfax amongst others, who offered him his assistance, as did

man of a bigger bravery would have considered himself bound to do, he accepted a command from Monk, and remained where he was. Gumble is delighted with Morgan, above all with the *honourable* manner in which he betrayed his trust. "About this time, also," says Gumble, "came down Major-General Morgan, sent on the part of Lambert, whose heart ached at the thought of a war with the General, whom he always feared and never loved, to dissuade the latter from fulfilling his engagement. This gentleman, who had proved his skill and conduct abroad, both in France and Flanders, did the more willingly charge himself with the message, as he had resolved to join with General Monk at all hazards. Nevertheless, would he act like a soldier, and as a man of honour, deliver his message first; and then, if the General would not consent to his proposition, why, he was at liberty to join with him. [Assuredly Gumble's ethics singled him out from all mankind as the fittest biographer of Monk!] This little man was of more worth, at that time, to us than the seventeen score of officers that had deserted." Independently of his elastic morals, Gumble is not always to be believed on matters of fact: *ex. gr.* "With General Morgan came also John Troutbeck, doctor in physick and chirurgeon, whose company the General always loved, and who was very pleasing to all the officers of the army. He brought an assurance from the Lord Fairfax that his lordship would not fail to be assistant to the General; which message was kept very private, that his lordship might meet with no prevention." It was quite proper to keep the message very private, seeing that no such message was ever delivered. As we have seen, the message was conveyed by Brian Fairfax. Troutbeck was not the sort of man Fairfax would have been likely to employ on such an enterprise, nor is it, indeed, probable that he ever held any intercourse with him. This Troutbeck was a fellow of a low and dissipated life, out of the pale of all good society, and the boon companion of Monk in his latter days, when Monk sank into vulgar habits of debauchery. Pepys testifies to his qualifications: "The Duke is grown a drunken sot, and drinks with nobody but Troutbeck, whom nobody else will keep company with."

others, but would [take] none, and he promised a free Parliament to such as desired it. So soon as he came to London, the Rump sent to him to pull down the City gates. He took up his quarters at Mr. Wales, the wine-merchant; now he had been a vintner. Monk obeyed their commands, and did pull down the gates; and, understanding well what was designed against him by the Rumpers, who resolved to take the sole command of the army from him, and make him at most but the third part of a General, he marched of a sudden with his army out of London to Westminster. This made the Council of State, as they were called, to scatter and shift for themselves. Some ran quite away; and Nicholas Love, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who was to be President of the Council at that time, being come to Whitehall, and in their council-chamber, made haste and got into some hole, never heard of after that I could learn. Monk calls the secluded members to come to their places* (they were Presbyterians, who were thrown out of the House by Cromwell and the Army), which many of them did; and he appoints out of them a secret council. Amongst them was Grimston, Maynard, Swinfen, old Lenthall, &c.; but he had agreed with them to dissolve so soon as they had issued out writs for a free Parliament, which all men desired; and so writs were issued under the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England."†

On approaching London, Monk drew up his army at

* A course which had been strenuously urged upon him by Fairfax.

† Autobiography of Sir John Bramston.

Highgate, and marched down Gray's Inn to Whitehall, where lodgings had been prepared for him. As he passed through the town he was greeted everywhere with loud cries for a "Free Parliament," which appears to have been all the welcome he received. That evening the streets were full of soldiers, the old troops (for whose removal Monk had previously stipulated) clamouring for their arrears, and being very reluctant to withdraw. Monk had hardly reached his lodgings when there came a crush of Commonwealth and Parliament people to visit him; and the Park was crowded with idle gazers, who were nothing loth to turn the grave occasion into an excuse for a little masquing and mumming. Amongst other pleasantries which were enacted in the Park that evening, Theophila Turner ran a race against Mrs. Pepys and "another poor woman" for a "pot of ale!"

At the request of the Parliamentary leaders, Monk proceeded to take his seat at the Council, of which he was a member, when the oath of abjuration was tendered to him. Here was a formidable difficulty, but his subtlety was equal to it. He did not exactly refuse, but hesitated and temporised. Others had refused, and he thought it desirable to confer with the Non-abjurers in order that he might proceed with more peace and satisfaction to himself. Nothing could be more reasonable, and so the test was postponed. Then came the thanks of the House, delivered by the Speaker, who, after dwelling upon the dangerous state of the nation, took occasion to congratulate the country on Monk's

appearance. By this transparent manœuvre the Rump hoped to draw out his real sentiments. It was a mere waste of the threadbare formula. He baffled them at every turn; and left them more bewildered than he found them. He told them that on his march from Scotland the people had everywhere earnestly appealed to him for a settlement, and that what they wanted was a full and free Parliament, the determination of the sitting of the present House, and the re-admission of the excluded members. Lest, however, the eager listeners to this statement should suspect him of entertaining these opinions, or of entertaining opinions of any kind, he took care to add that he had answered all such demands by assuring the people that the Parliament was already free, and that if any doubt remained on that point he would remove it; that a resolution had been passed to fill up all vacancies; that it would soon be a full Parliament also; and that as for the excluded members, all people ought to acquiesce in the judgment of Parliament. The profound merit of this dark little speech was that it might be interpreted either way, for or against the Parliament, with equal safety to the speaker, and with equal fidelity to its implied purport.

If Monk had at this time entered with sincerity into the designs of the Royalists, evidences would have survived of a secret understanding with at least some of them; for a man who was in earnest in the cause would never have risked the danger of confounding the

plans of his friends and allies by keeping them in a state of constant doubt and apprehension as to his own intentions. But Monk never said or did anything which he might not afterwards have taken advantage of, had he found it convenient to establish a Republic, restore the King, or, like Lambert, set up for himself.

The Rump, seeing that they could make nothing of Monk in the House, determined to commit him to an act which should render him odious out of it, and so bring him to terms that way. They accordingly ordered him to seize the prominent members of the Common Council (who had refused to pay taxes until the House was properly filled up), and to demolish the posts, chains, gates, and portcullises of the City. To prevent the possibility of being tampered with, they kept him up 'till two o'clock in the morning; but the citizens were as active as the Parliament, and waited upon him after he had got into bed. All to no purpose. His taciturnity was fatal to all remonstrances. The citizens went away considerably more puzzled than they came, stopping, no doubt, in little knots on their way home down the murky Strand to explore each other's thoughts with vacant eyes and vain questions.

The next morning, Monk was at the head of his troops in the Old Exchange, making prisoners of "eminent" citizens, and superintending the destruction of chains and posts. This was a description of work which went against the grain of his officers, who said that if they were to be honoured with the office of city-scavengers,

they should like to begin at Westminster. Now this was exactly what Monk desired. He wished to be in with both parties, and this remonstrance of his officers (which, no doubt, he secretly encouraged) gave him an excuse to go back to Parliament, with a request that they would be satisfied with the pulling down of the chains and posts, and not require the removal of the gates and portcullises. But Monk's hesitation only made the Rump more obstinate than ever, and they sent peremptory orders that the gates and portcullises should be beaten to pieces. Monk returned to his work, and did it, but in such a manner as to throw the whole unpopularity of it upon the Parliament. Every fragment broken down was accompanied by muttered expressions of discontent, which quite won over the citizens to the Army. "At Newgate," says Gumble, who may be safely trusted whenever he has to record the duplicity of Monk, "the commanding officer took divers small pieces of wood—fragments of the broken gate—and presented them to his soldiers as the medals which had been promised them by Parliament, at the time they first appeared against Lambert." Thus, while he was strictly fulfilling his instructions on the one side, Monk was turning them to the account of his treason on the other.

He effectually succeeded in throwing the City into a flame. Returning to Whitehall that night he concocted with his officers a letter which they were to sign and send up to the House, demanding that writs should be issued to fill up the vacant seats, and a precise time

fixed for terminating the session, in order that the people should have a full and free parliament. Before this letter could be received or read in the House, he marched into the City the next morning, and in the presence of an immense concourse of people in the Guildhall, announced that he had come to stay amongst them until he had obtained a full and free parliament. Shouts of applause rent the air, and every coach that lumbered through the crowd was stopped to ascertain whether it held Messrs. Scott and Robinson, the luckless Commissioners of the Rump, who, if they had been caught that day, would have been offered up as an appropriate sacrifice on the altar of popular frenzy. Then followed that frantic night which is known as "the Burning of the Rump." Bells were rung and fires lighted, and the uproar of the town was glorious to witness. Pepys happened to be going home through the streets that night, after a booze with his friend Sir Nicholas Crisp at the Star Tavern, and has left the following graphic account of the scene :—"In Cheapside there were a great many bon-fires, and Bow-bells, and all the bells in all the churches, as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge*

* It spanned the Strand close to the east end of Catherine Street, where a small stream ran down from the fields into the Thames near Somerset House.—*Maitland*, quoted by Lord Braybrooke.

I could tell at one time thirty-one fires. In King Street seven or eight; and all along, burning, and roasting, and drinking for Rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down. The butchers at the May-pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the other side." This was on the 11th February, 1660. The next day, Pepys adds, that the citizens were so "open-handed" with the soldiers that most of them "were drunk all day."

Monk was now fairly lodged in the City, somewhere about Broad Street, and his wife joined him from Whitehall. Haselrig went to see him, but was so alarmed at the fury of the citizens that he was afraid to have a light carried before him lest the people should see him. To make the most of it, there was neither bravery nor honesty in Monk's proceedings on this occasion. The Rump was at its last gasp, and Monk merely went with the tide. The demand for a full parliament—making no stipulation for the re-admission of the secluded members, and carefully avoiding all allusion to them—was nothing more than that which the Parliament must have granted of their own accord, and which they had previously declared themselves not unwilling to grant.

It was a great smoke with very little fire. But it answered Monk's purpose, and kept him in his position, with a sudden accession of blind, riotous popularity.

The tidings of these movements were received in the North with undisguised dissatisfaction. Fairfax had urged the necessity of stipulating for the re-admission of the secluded members, as the indispensable preliminary step to a more decisive motion for the return of the King; and when he learned that Monk had limited his demand to the filling up of vacancies, and that Parliament had consented to issue writs for that purpose, he forwarded an urgent remonstrance to Monk, accompanied by a declaration subscribed by the principal gentry of the county. To that remonstrance and declaration Monk returned the following evasive reply:

GENERAL MONK TO MY LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received your letter, and therewithal a declaration subscribed with the hands of many noble and worthy persons, and affirmed by you to be the sense of the whole county and city of York. All that I am able to return you in answer thereto is to acquaint you, that the House hath condescended that their numbers shall be filled up, and that all the writs shall issue forth for the electing of members, and that there will be no such qualifications (as I am informed) as may hinder the secluded members from being chosen again, if the counties shall think fit to elect them.

This, though it be not absolutely and exactly that which you propound, is yet so near, that I cannot but have good hope it may give you satisfaction, and so much the rather because I find your desires not to be peremptory but alternative, and conclude from thence that though a third expedient be pitched upon as the most effectual for satisfying all parties, yet seeing it is such as answers your main end of having your representatives in the House, and doth not so restrain you with the qualifications, but that you may have the liberty to elect those men whom you would have now to return to their trust upon their former elections; that it is the implicit and virtual sense of your own declaration; and that it was rather forgotten to be expressed than purposely left out: and if in any small matters I shall be mistaken in my opinion, or you in your expectation, I make it my request to you that you would not for small matters run the hazard of that confusion which you seem, and have indeed just reason to fear; and you may assure yourselves that I shall at all times in my station further your just desires, and take all opportunities to show myself

Your lordship's very humble and faithful servant,

GEORGE MONK.

London, Feb. 18, 1659.

During this brief interval, when no man could foresee what would happen between morning and night, the country was agitated by the most alarming rumours. Of the nature of some of them we can form an estimate from the following letter :—

MR. J. FOLEY TO MR. SAMUEL LODIMAN, AT CLONMEL.

DEAR BROTHER,

I AM somewhat unexpectedly (though I hope providentially) called to Dublin in company of my brother (and sister, Pritt.), who, I thank God, is well recovered. My business thither will, I hope, succeed never the worse with so good a second. I shall be glad to receive your comrades thither, which I shall carefully observe. Let our friends know that the face of affairs in England is very ugly at present—I have so much from good hands thence. Differences increase and are very high among the best, and no doubt the worst will blow the bellows or lie as dried fuel ready to kindle. The difference between France and Spain, they lie concluded, at least referred to the Pope to decide.

Never was there more need for hands and hearts to be lifted up to heaven for wisdom, courage, and faithfulness to our pilots, lest they split the vessel on the rock of confidence or the sands of security. It is rumoured the Dutch have seized twenty of our ships; that Huson is made Earl of Maidstone; —gridce,* Earl of Essex; Lord Fairfax and his son-in-law, Buckingham, imprisoned in the Tower; but of these you will hear more by the next. It is like you had more news this week than we, because we were expected in Dublin; but Mabbot's letter tells us the beacon is fired, the Lord in mercy in his due time quench it.

I entreat your excuse for this scribbling, and if you think well, you may mention my name and what else your judicious genius shall prompt you to in yours to Dr. George and

* The name is illegible in the original.

Dr. Harrison; and begging your prayer and acceptance of my very hearty respects to yourself and consort, subscribe myself

Your most affectionate unworthy brother,
And humble servant,
J. Foley.

Carlow, Feb. 19, 1659.

My service to all our friends at your discretion as if named here.

On the 21st February, Monk appeared at Whitehall, and made a speech to the soldiers, recommending a Commonwealth, and declaring against Charles Stuart. He seems to have taken up every question according to the temper of his audience, and to have promised all things to all men. Every body went to him, the secret cavalier, the denouncing puritan, the open republican, and he undertook to do everything that everybody asked; no loyalty was too devoted, no treason too base for the flexible conscience of Monk. Even Gumble began to get a little ashamed of him at last. "Sometimes, I fear me," says conscientious Gumble, "he was forced to give assurances he could not keep; yet many that were led by their hopes, like that pagan who was for turning Christian if he might be Pope of Rome, were, nevertheless, to be cherished. But great men are not to be commended for nursing airy hopes in those who sue to them for favours. Much more praiseworthy was the frankness of William, late Duke of Hamilton, who used to tell suitors to their faces, and at once,

if he disrelished their proposals, that he would not grant their prayers, but appear against them. All parties, as I said, visited the General; all sought to promote their own ends, and all went away laden with promises."

In the midst of the confusion, the secluded members are smuggled, or escorted, into the House by the soldiers who stand at the door,* and debates are going on about the dissolution and issuing of writs for a new parliament. There is a question, shapeless but palpable, rising up in the gloom, as to whose name these writs shall be issued in, and three names are muttered here and there: they are "Charles," "George," and "Richard;" and a shrill, sharp voice rings out, like a knell, "In the name of King Charles!" It is the voice of voluminous Prynne.

But the time was not yet ripe for so hazardous a declaration, and the writs went out in the names of the Keepers of the Liberties of the people, who, it soon became manifest were keeping them for the King. While this under-current (directed by the skill and perseverance of the secluded members) was flowing steadily in parliament, the soldiery were vehement in their outcries against government by a single person, the Stuart in particular; and Monk who only a few days

* This proceeding was privately arranged by Monk at the very time when he was openly blaspheming against the Stuarts, and uttering the imprecation "that his arm might rot off if he had any design for the King!" Upon being expostulated with for bringing in the secluded members, he replied, "What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the King to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?" His perjuries were unfathomable.

before, had counselled them to this very clamour, was now compelled to exert all his influence to put it down. The desire for the restoration of the monarchy was growing too strong in the city and all over the country, and taking a shape too distinct, to admit of much further coquetry. On the 16th March, the House dissolved itself; the Speaker, without his mace, and the members after him, passing out of Westminster Hall with great glee, and conversing loudly about the King. At night there was a great bonfire made in the Exchange, and the people shouted out "God bless King Charles the Second!" Nothing was talked of in all companies, in the great houses, the taverns, and the streets, but the King. "All the discourse now-a-day," says Pepys, "is that the King will come again; and for all I see, it is the wishes of all; and all do believe that it will be so." It was a no less decisive sign of the altered state of public feeling, that the Mercers' Company set about preparing a statue of the King to set up in the Exchange.

Fairfax had his share in this rapid progress of events. Immediately after he had made himself master of York, on the 1st January, he had been chosen by the Rump, one of the Council of State, and again on the 23rd February; and he was now elected, on the the 29th March, one of the Knights of the County of York, in the Convention Parliament, or, as it was afterwards called by the King, the Healing Parliament. The first incident which took place on the day of meeting

determined the complexion of its subsequent proceedings. The cavaliers intended to elect Turner for their Speaker, but the presbyterians getting the start of them in the House, hardly waiting for the conclusion of the sermon in St. Margaret's church,* elected Sir Harbottle Grimston, and when the royalists came in they had the mortification of seeing Monk and Holles conducting the new Speaker to the chair. The object of this manœuvre was to deprive the cavaliers of the credit of taking the first step towards the restitution of the King, and so absorbing the honours and advantages of it to themselves. "The King," says Sir John Bramston, "and those in power with him, especially Hyde, the Chancellor, believed the presbyterians did the work, and accordingly that party, who had the money too (the cavaliers being generally poor), got all employments."

The House of Lords, after a sequestration of eleven years, met at the same time, and elected the Earl of Manchester provisional speaker, the same Earl of Manchester who had borne so conspicuous a part against royalty in the early days of the Civil War. Thus the presbyterians had the monopoly of all the parliamentary glory of the restoration. At first there was a little show of hesitation about members who had carried arms against the Parliament; but it was swept away by the overwhelming flood of loyalty which inundated both Houses. The legislature was now restored to its original form, and a conference was appointed to take place

* Autobiography of Sir John Bramston.

between the Lords and Commons on the 1st May, for the purpose of settling the limitations which should be imposed upon the King.

Up to this moment Monk had worn that shifting mask which baffled the speculations of all parties. Nothing was certain but his repeated asseverations and appeals to heaven against the Stuarts. "Yea!" he exclaimed to Ludlow, "we must live and die together for a Commonwealth." Grasping Haselrig by the hand, he cried out passionately, "I do here protest to you in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers." But as nobody believed one word he uttered, these solemn declarations only increased the doubts and fears with which he was regarded.

The resolution of the two Houses to hold a conference compelled him at last to throw off his mask. He saw clearly that if he did not restore the King, the King would be restored by the Lords and Commons, and he resolved to intercept them. There was not a scintilla of magnanimity in his conduct. It was a sheer piece of vulgar calculation based upon self-interest.

About the close of March, or beginning of April, Sir John Grenville had been intrusted by the King with letters to Monk; but the wary General, reluctant to confide even in the King himself, desired that Grenville should communicate with his kinsman Morrice, which Grenville refused twice, declaring that he could

open his business only to Monk in person. At last Monk admitted him, heard what he had to say, and dismissed him with a verbal message (he was too cautious to write) to the effect that he was prepared to devote himself to the restoration of the monarchy. Now came the adjournment of the two Houses preparatory to the conference, and in the interval Monk ordered Grenville to deliver his letters to him while he was sitting in the Council of State. This unexpected proceeding forestalled the contemplated intentions of Parliament, and when they met they found the work already cut out to their hands. A message from the Council, with letters from the King, was in itself an acknowledgment of re-instated royalty, and the Restoration was at that moment virtually accomplished. By this cunning device Monk gained his object, and secured to himself the sole honour of effecting the return of the King, without condition or limitation—a mean treason against the rights of Parliament and the liberties of the People.

On the announcement of this intelligence town and country were again thrown into ecstacies. Guns were fired; bonfires were lighted; the royal arms were painted up over shops; bells rang out merry peals; the poor, crushed stage-players, began to peep out of their retreats in inns and guard-rooms; Killigrew was as busy as a courier flying up and down with secret despatches; sailors in dockyards danced hornpipes and got uproariously drunk; the harp was struck out of the flags, because the King did not like it; the Common-

wealth flag was torn down from the shipping in the Thames and the Downs and all the seaports, and the King's substituted in its place; the fleet went mad with pendants loose, guns roaring, caps flying, and ships' companies shouting out "God save the King!" in thunders of hearty zeal and hilarious discord. The may-poles were hung with King's flags, and the people crowded round them in disorderly joy, drinking the King's health on their knees in the streets. The historians who attribute the restoration to Monk must have overlooked that previous condition of the public mind which burst out on the sudden into such phrenetic demonstrations of rapture and delight.

On the 18th May commissioners were sent by Parliament to wait upon the King at Breda, and attend his Majesty to England. Lord Fairfax was nominated at the head of the commission, which displayed in its composition the Presbyterian element still in the ascendant. Associated with him on this occasion were the Lords Oxford, Warwick, Middlesex, Hereford, Berkley, Brook, Herbert, Mandeville, Bruce, Castleton, and Falkland; Denzil Holles, Horatio Townsend, Holland, Cooper, Booth, and Chomeley. As the commissioners approached the little Court where the meeting was to take place, the appearance of the famous Captain-General of the Parliamentary Army drew down all eyes;* and of the persons collected upon that memorable day, not one, even to the new monarch himself, excited so

* Wood.

much popular curiosity. Holles was the spokesman for the rest of the commissioners, an office for which Fairfax was disqualified by what Hume calls his "embarrassed and confused elocution;" and when he had concluded his address to the "dread Sovereign," in which he told him that the people were longing for him, and that all degrees, ages, and sexes, high and low, rich and poor, were sending up prayers to heaven for his return; that bonfires were blazing, and ordnance pealing, and honest men reeling with joy at the prospect of seeing him again; and when that stately ceremony, with such unaccustomed outbreaks of enthusiasm in it, was over, Fairfax requested a private audience of the King, at which, it is said, he asked pardon for all past offences, and made a full, voluntary, and sincere submission to his Majesty for the rest of his life.

This was all Fairfax had to ask—and this was all he received.

Contrast his bearing and his fortunes at this moment with the conduct and rewards of Monk. When his Majesty landed at Dover, he was received by Monk with the air of one who should cry aloud, "I did it—alone!" and his Majesty embraced him; and he was retained next to his Majesty's person on the royal and triumphal progress to Whitehall. His Majesty had scarcely time to collect his thoughts, when Monk, seeking his private chamber, to the King's infinite disgust at so early a display of corruption, placed before him a list of seventy persons (chiefly selected from his

Majesty's bitterest enemies), whom he desired to be appointed Privy Councillors. Nor was this flagitious proceeding much mended by Monk's subsequent explanation, that he had promised all these people his good offices with the King, but that he never imagined for an instant they would be accepted! Everything was sacrificed to his personal advancement—the interests of the party through whose agency he worked himself up to this height of power, and the honour of the King. And through such acts of baseness and duplicity he absorbed all the renown of the achievement of the Restoration; was made a Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse, a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, First Lord of the Treasury, and Duke of Albemarle, with a pension of 7000*l.* a year; and with these glories dangling about him he betrayed to the death, or to protracted sufferings in prison, many of his former allies, and feasted his eyes upon their agonies.* To the accumulated crimes of public and private treachery, violated pledges, and habitual dissimulation, he added, in the latter part of his career, the vices of venality and grossness, trafficking his interest for bribes, and surrendering up his faculties to a life of animal debauchery.†

* "Monk and his wife, before they [the Presbyterians who had been decoyed to surrender themselves] were removed to the Tower, while they were yet prisoners at Lambeth House, came one evening to the gardens, and caused them to be brought down only to stare at them, which was such a barbarism for that man, who had betrayed so many poor men to death and misery that never hurt him, but who had honoured him, and had trusted their lives and interests with him, to glut his bloody eyes with beholding them in their bondage, that no story can parallel this inhumanity."—*Hutchinson's Memoirs.*

† "Monk was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible

The only reward Fairfax received for the service in which he had so often perilled his life, was the pension of 5000*l.* upon which he had retired, and which had been settled upon him by Parliament. He asked and obtained nothing from the King, but oblivion of the past. He served only under one authority and in one cause; and throughout the whole course of his victories—the most brilliant that had ever been won on the English soil—with almost unlimited power in his hands, he never sought a solitary advantage for himself or his family. No new dignities were added to his simple state; and when he saw the King restored, and the nation settled, instead of intriguing to exalt himself upon the accidents of fortune, he felt that the end of his patriotic ambition was fulfilled, and withdrew from public life. The historical contrast is complete between the characters of Monk and Fairfax. Midnight and noonday are not more strikingly opposed.*

creature. They both asked and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for some time; till he became so useless that little personal regard could be paid him."—*Burnet.*

* Hume, who cannot be suspected of having been predisposed in favour of Fairfax, describes him as a man "sincere in his professions, disinterested in his views, and open in his conduct." To the purity and integrity of his life he bears this further testimony: "Fairfax was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and, though strongly infected with prejudices, or principles derived from religion and party zeal, he seems never in the course of his public conduct, to have been diverted by private interest or ambition, from strictly adhering to these principles." Brian Fairfax, who edited the "Short Memorials," and lived on terms of close intimacy with Lord Fairfax, speaks of him in these terms:—"So long as unfeigned piety towards God, invincible courage joined with wonderful modesty, and exceeding good nature; justice and charity to all men in his private life; and an ingenuous acknowledgment of his public error, with hearty endeavours to make reparation as soon as he was convinced of it, shall be esteemed in the world; so long shall the name of my Lord Fairfax be honoured by good men, and be had in perpetual remembrance."

After the Restoration was accomplished, and Fairfax had the happiness of witnessing the joyous ceremony of the coronation, the King riding a horse which the old Parliamentary General had consecrated to him, with a copy of extremely indifferent verses (the greatest men sometimes commit follies of this kind in their old age, and it is well with the good-natured veteran that he is chargeable with nothing worse!) Lord Fairfax retired again to his retreat amongst the pastures and orchards of Nun Appleton. But he had not altogether relinquished his ancient interest in the peace and stability of the kingdom; and we find him three years afterwards, when reports of plots and machinations against the monarchy were abroad, writing to his son-in-law to admonish him upon the course he ought to take on an occasion of such emergency. Buckingham at this time enjoyed the full favour of the Sovereign.

FOR HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

When I understood from my cousin Brian Fairfax of dangerous designs now in acting, I could not satisfy myself in hope they were but rumours, but should have waited on your lordship personally, to express a duty every one owes to the King and his country at such a time; but not able to, for want of health, I can pray only for a good success in finding out those that are the cause of these troubles, and wish I could contribute anything by my advice

in it. But I hope, when you have taken a view of the forces, and put such officers over them whose discretion and moderation will more sweeten than exasperate the spirits of men, and find out the real offenders, rather than suppose them, these distempers will soon blow over, and bring those offenders to light which now escape away clear, under the shadow of some innocents, but suspected criminals. There cannot be too much care, I confess, in preventing these mischiefs; and I know nothing will do it better, than to have discreet and sober officers; as they are likest to do their own duty, so no honest and sober man but will be ready to do his in giving intelligence, advice, and assistance to them on all occasions, when those destroy unity by keeping up distinctions which both the King and the Parliament in great wisdom have thought fit to bury in oblivion, and this I doubt not hath caused many to seem enemies which are real friends. But I shall plead for no man, but leave such to clear their own integrity, which, if they do, your lordship will do a great act of justice, service to his Majesty, and honour to yourself, not to let them be destroyed and ruined by some men's private passions, under colour of doing public service. Your lordship may be a good instrument in accommodating many things by your presence here, which your own observations will best direct you in; and though I had not a talent, I could not withhold my mite from offering it for the peace of my country; and that your lordship might be a happy instrument of it, is the desire of, my lord,

Your Grace's most affectionate and humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

October 14*th*, 1663.

There is but one letter more ;* it is addressed to a lady (supposed to be Lady Clinton) ; and refers chiefly to the Duchess of Buckingham, who had now been upwards of three years a widow. She doubtless was not handsome, but she was distinguished for her virtue and piety, and bore the profligacy of her husband with such sweetness of disposition, that he is said to have conducted himself towards her with a civility amounting almost to tenderness.

GENERAL FAIRFAX TO ———.

MADAM,

WHEN I received your ladyship's letter, being then in the gout, and long time after lame in my hands, hath caused this late return of my humble thanks, in which you were pleased to let me know my daughter could not conveniently make a journey down this summer, which I did partly believe, though I should have been glad to have seen her; yet the disappointment of my expectation was with less trouble, receiving the intimation of it from so gentle a hand as your ladyship's. And now, Madam, having been obliged to you for so favourable a care as your ladyship has always expressed of me, I shall beg once more you would be so charitable to deliver me from some trouble I am in, to let me know whither my daughter is gone, for I have not heard one word from any but what your ladyship was pleased to write to Mr. Streeton, and it seems so strange to me she

* This letter is the last in the handwriting of Lord Fairfax. A letter published in the Memoir (p. 149) is mentioned as the last record of his hand ; but this (addressed probably to the same person) has been discovered since.

should go to Calais, a garrison only of soldiers, as I cannot apprehend a reason for it; neither can I think she would be so forgetful of me, without giving me some notice of her going out of the kingdom, since it was no secret to others, but that some sudden resolution occasioned it. However, in her more composed thoughts, she could not think me so unnatural a father. I should not be in doubts and trouble if I knew where and what condition she was in; therefore I beseech you, Madam, if you have heard any more certainly how they have proceeded in that journey, your ladyship will do me that favour to let me know it, not that I can desire it from your own hand,—it would be too great a trouble,—but by any other's you think fit. I did not think to put your ladyship to this trouble; but hoping you will pardon this digression, I shall return to my first intention, which was to express my hearty acknowledgment of your ladyship's favours, and the great reason I have ever to be,

Your ladyship's most affectionate and humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

August 6th, 1670.

Madam;—I pray you present my affectionate service to my sister Worsman. My Lady Penelope Langham is early every morning drinking the waters. I wish her much good in them, and have hope, since I cannot write to her, to have the honour to see her at Appleton.

Lord Fairfax died on the 2nd November, 1671, little more than twelve months after the date of this letter, at the age of sixty. Hard service had done its full work upon him, and the last seven years of his life were years of physical suffering: old wounds, racking his

frame with torture at all changes of the weather, and rheumatism, gout, and the complicated infirmities that grow upon incessant pain, depriving him latterly of the power of moving abroad. But his mind was clear and healthy to the last.

He was buried in the south aisle, close to the chancel, of Bidburgh Church, near York; and the following simple epitaph was inscribed over his grave :—

HERE LYE THE BODIES OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX OF DENTON, BARON CAMERONE, WHO DIED NOVEMBER 2ND, 1671, IN THE SIXTIETH YEAR OF HIS AGE. AND OF ANNE HIS WIFE, DAUGHTER AND COHEIR OF HORATIO LORD VERE, BARON OF TILBURY. HE HAD ISSUE, MARY, DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM, AND ELIZABETH.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

LADY VAVASOUR.

[From Lady Vavasour, the wife of Sir Thomas Vavasour, to her uncle, who had embraced the Roman Catholic faith.]

FOR Mr. HENRY VAVASOUR AT HAZELWOOD, THESE.

UNCLE,

I DO not more wonder at the change, than lament the loss of your soul, so far hath the former seeming goodness (however then dissembled) won upon me: had you been always what now you are, I had at this time spared my pains, and only deplored your condition in the general with silence, but to fall from so good a God that brought you out of darkness to the light of His holy truth, forceth me to discharge the part both of a true friend and Christian, in telling you what St. Paul saith to such, that there remains nothing but a certain fearful looking for of judgment; often have you desired my counsel when I was more fit to take than give it you, but how acceptable it may be to you now I know not: I am sure it could never have been more needful: which shall be to desire you as you tender your chiefest good, first to

consider who you have forsaken, who you have wronged, and who must suffer for it at that great day of accounts without repentance; and then in a humble and penitent manner begging pardon, and His grace for the future, think it no shame to return. It is never too late to do well; that cannot be done too soon that may be done at all times; can you now think that piety to worship an image which heretofore you so justly counted superstition and idolatry; or is it possible you should venture your soul in that fine religion made by man, which formerly you have said you durst not (in it) hazard one of a thousand. Alas, think on these words; they were your own, which will, I fear, one day rise up in judgment against you. God, of His infinite mercy, in His due time, give you grace to see your error, and call you home. I am not yet so much become your enemy as not to heartily wish and pray for this; nor so little mine own friend (though you have made so great a breach in that friendship I did once esteem), as having obtained it, not to think myself happy in the title again (not now, but as formerly I have been) of

Your most loving and affectionate niece,

URSULA VAVASOUR.

March 3rd, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

HENRY, LORD FAIRFAX.

[Henry, Lord Fairfax, who succeeded to the title on the death of the Parliamentary General, was the grandson of the first lord, and son of the Rev. Henry Fairfax, of Oglethorpe, by Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Cholmeley. He died in 1685 and was succeeded by his son Thomas.]

FOR THE LADY FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

My dear heart,

I bless God I came safe to London the other night in company of my cousin Palmes and my sister, who opportunely hired a coach at Stamford, otherwise our stay had been longer at Whisendine. My brother Sherrard has almost in this short time cured me of my lame leg, by breaking a vein in both my feet, and a plaster he applied. The weather is so excessive hot and being weary with my journey, I have not seen any friends. Last night Brian placed me so conveniently in St. James's Park as to see his Majesty, the Duke, and Prince Rupert, and tomorrow am to kiss his Majesty's hand, when I have gotten clothes fit to attend him, being a plain stuff suit. In my next, I hope to give some satisfaction of my proceedings in the business I came for. Tom craves your blessing; my brother, sister, and Tom Fairfax present their service to you. God bless you all.

Yours,

Henry Fairfax.

Musse, May 19th, 1677.

FROM HENRY, LORD FAIRFAX, TO LADY FAIRFAX.

My dear,

I have met with Major Wildman, who has been in the country some time, but he will not admit of the enrolment of the deed, without advice of counsel; and this day I hear that my cousin Rokeby came to town from his brother's, two or three miles off, so that I hope for a friend as well as counsel to advise me what is best to be done. All our friends are well; his Grace is still in custody; my brother and sister present their service, and your son his duty. God bless you all, and send us both speedy and happy meeting.

Yours,

Henry Fairfax.

June 19th, 1677.

FOR THE LADY FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

Dearest,

I met yesterday with my cousin Rokeby, and got him and Serjeant Pemberton to make their appointment according to Major Wildman's desire, which is to be tomorrow night, so as I shall know what to do; for I am weary of this place, longing to be with you, that we enjoy one another in quiet, retired from the vanities of this evil world. The Duke of Buckingham was out for two days to see his building at Clifden. By that time it 's finished, he will have little land to support it. My brother and sister present their service to you, and your son his duty. Yours,

Henry Fairfax.

June 26th, 1677.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LADY FAIRFAX AT DENTON, NEAR OTLEY, IN YORKSHIRE.

My dear,

I was weary with a tedious and troublesome journey which made me omit the last post, but caused Bar to let Mr. Rymer know that you might hear we were all well. I came in time to see Tom, who was commanded to Colchester to see his men disbanded yesterday and this day, he is to return upon Monday or Tuesday: there has nothing been done as yet in Parliament until this day, we having now agreed upon our Speaker, Serjeant Gregory of Gray's Inn; upon Monday we are to present him to the King. It's said by several, your friend, our Lord Treasurer, dare not stay the storm that is coming upon him, all men's mouths being open against him; besides the generality of both Lords and Commons, there is several will come in to clear further this abominable plot. You may have heard the Duke of York was gone beyond the seas before I got to town, and more will quickly follow. I have seen none of your acquaintance as yet; upon Thursday I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, who was pleased to ask me how I did, and told me he was glad to see me. I fear we shall have so much work upon our hands as we shall not be dismissed this two months; God send us a good meeting, and bless and keep you all. Yours,

H. Fairfax.

You may direct yours to me at the House of Commons.

March 15th, 1678. [*N.S.* 1679.]

THE RYE-HOUSE PLOT.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

My Lord,

I very late last night received a letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, wherein he gives me notice that they had information that Richard Goodenough and Richard Nelthorpe, barristers-at-law, who were deeply engaged in the horrid plot of intending to murder his Sacred Majesty and his Royal Highness, and, amongst others, are mentioned in his Majesty's proclamation to be apprehended, were seen near Doncaster in their flight northwards. I shall therefore desire your lordship that you will use your utmost endeavours to find out these two persons, who, flying that way, may possibly lurk in these parts. I am likewise further commanded that the officers of the militia in that Riding may be in a readiness, if there be occasion; and therefore I shall desire your lordship that you will give notice to those of your regiment to be so, that if I shall receive any farther directions to draw them together for his Majesty's service, they may be in a readiness to obey such commands as I shall receive from above; and that your lordship will have a diligent and watchful eye upon the motions of that party, and from time to time give me notice of what you observe in these particulars. And if your lordship shall have any grounds to suspect any persons in this conjuncture as dangerous, be pleased to give me notice speedily thereof, and to your lordship directions shall be sent for disarming them according to law, by, my lord,

Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

Burlington.

Londesburgh, 29th June, 1683.

BRIAN FAIRFAX.

[Brian, who writes the following letters, was the second son of the Rev. Henry Fairfax. He married Charlotte Cary, the only daughter of Sir Edmund Cary, by whom he had five children.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

Dear Brother,

It would be a great satisfaction to me to hear often from you by any hand. I have escaped a very troublesome attendance on his Majesty at Newmarket, by his being there before April; I once thought it a great pleasure, but I find the taste of pleasure alters with age; and I thank God those youthful ones are as far outdone by the delight I take in a book and a friend, and now and then a solitary walk, as ever I did in the pleasures of a hobby-horse. The weather hath been exceeding cold, and that place hath neither shelter abroad nor fire within doors, but as long as the King loves it, and hath his health, all is well. It is a sign some courtiers want no money, when Bab. May hath lost 2000*l.* on a horse called Dragon against Why-not. I dined yesterday with two good friends of yours, my Lord Clare and Maxfield: my Lady Duchess is kindly remembered to you; she is resolved never to sell her life estate; my Lord Clare's advice is that you look after your title to Appleton and Bolton as heir in tail. I assure you again and again from those who have best reason to know, that no recovery was suffered upon it, and I am sure my Lady Duchess nor the Duke will take

it ill to have you put in your claim at this time. I wish I could tempt you to London by a promise to return with you into the country, for I am very desirous to enjoy as much of your company as may be, and if you have the same desire, I doubt not, but God in his providence will order it for our mutual comfort and satisfaction. We expect the King on Saturday next. We pray for the success abroad of the King of Poland against the Antichristian, and of the Prince of Orange against the most Christian Turk, and that God would unite the Protestant interest to defend itself against all Popish designs at home and abroad.

Your ever loving brother,

BRIAN FAIRFAX.

March 18*th*, 1683. [*N.S.* 1684.]

THE HONOURABLE BRIAN FAIRFAX TO HIS NEPHEW, LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

THE gentleman whom I desire to see you, Sir William Ramsden, Bart. of Byrom, near Ferrybridge, one who has a great respect for our family, and I desire you will show as much to him in an entertainment at your chambers; he is a person of a plentiful estate, and you would find a hearty welcome at his house, where I should be glad to find you in your way to Denton, the sooner the better. Was I at Woodstock I would see Oxford once more. Sir William Ramsden's horse won a plate on Clifton Inggs, near York, a second on Lincoln Heath, a third near Doncaster, where he double-distanced Watson's horse, called Farmer, that won the golden cup near York. If he gets not that at Woodstock, he will run them hard. Was I there I would lay a wager

on his side; so give me an account of the match. If you would have a pad between fourteen and fifteen hands high, my cousin, Thomas Fairfax, of Menston, has one in Denton Park, five next grass, out of Turk, and the dam got by one; by that time he is seven he will be size enough, having good limbs. Mr. Banks has a mare of the same age, so bred too, near fourteen hands. He having orders to destroy the deer, cannot you prevail with my lady to let you come now to Denton to view the estate? Denton, Askwith, and Bilbrough might be considerably improved. I do not know but they might be raised double the income; estates in the neighbourhood, though not near so good land, are let considerably more; if you prevail to redeem all or else the aforesaid places; only you may then have a park as well as other gentlemen in the country. Many a fine horse has been bred in it in my great-grandfather's, my father's, and your father's time; the first bred his for the great saddle, he being a soldier. If you never did read my Lord Thomas Fairfax's (the General's) Memoirs, they are to be had at Richard Chiswell's, at the Rose and Crown, St. Paul's Church Yard, London. Mr. Thoresby tells me in his letter, that you were a subscriber to his book as well as I. Both the wings of Appleton house are down. Writings to it and Bolton, showing your title, are at Denton. Those two places are also reckoned easy rented. The tenants' leases at Denton and there are expired; a 20,000*l.* fortune would redeem Appleton and Bolton; that and the money for that in Virginia, would raise you to purpose, and if you get any thing by the wreck (to which your father was a subscriber) be kind to your brothers and sisters. I hope, I shall have my charges to London and Dublin allowed. Once more, I may put you in mind (in case of a journey to Denton) of getting a rental

of the estate of Mr. Banks, the names of the lands, pasture and arable, the number of acres to each piece and in what tenants' hands the lands are. The neighbouring gentry will inform you in this affair; for instance, Mr. Banks told me when last at Denton, that Mr. Booth of Askwith pays 12*l.* for his farm, which might be let at 30*l.*; they may be so slothful there that they thrive no better for their too easy rents: make them take leases, or go off; at your price they will bestir themselves and get money and mend themselves. As you did not answer my two last letters, do not use me so for the future, since your welfare is heartily wished by,

My lord, yours,

BRIAN FAIRFAX.

September 5th, 1712.

LETTER OF BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ. TO CHARLES FAIRFAX, ESQ., HIS SON, AT CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

I THANK you for yours, and will not forget to answer it. You must excuse this scribble considering tonight.

I went to Bromley on Monday, and returned on Wednesday, my lord and I being summoned to appear at St. James's, at eight this morning; and from thence we attended the Queen in procession to St. Paul's, though I had rather sung Te Deum with St. Peter. All the Lords were ordered to come with coach and six. The Queen had eight, adorned with red and white roses, York and Lancaster. It was twelve before the Queen came. The Te Deum made a great and joyful noise, to be heard at Paris. The Prince and Queen sat on a throne at the entrance of the choir, the lords on the right, the ladies on the left, the Lord Mayor east of the ladies.

We had Purcell's Te Deum, and two anthems of Deborah and Sisera at the brook Kison. It put me in a poetic humour, dear, to this tune:

Cæsar pontem fecit ligneum in Rhenum,
Trajanus marmoreum in Danubium,
Dux noster osseum—
Victis Gallis et Bavaris,
Certe magnus Imperator,
Et
Pontifex Maximus
Ludovicus, olim magnus nunc parvus,
Frustra clamat in somniis:
Redde Tallarde, redde legiones.*

It was four before we had done. The Dean of St. Paul's preached a panegyric on the Duke of Marlborough. I supped with the Bishop of Rochester, at Mr. Barnes's. Let me know whether I must send you a winter suit from London, and money to buy one there. God bless you.

Sept. 7th, 1704.

* Cæsar built a wooden bridge over the Rhine, Trajan a marble one over the Danube.

The French and Dutch being conquered,
Truly the great Emperor,
And the Pope
Lewis, formerly the great now the little,
In vain cries out in his dreams:
Give me back, Tallarde, give me back my legions.

[In this translation, which is taken *verbatim* from the letter, the reader will perceive that the third line of the original is omitted. The circumstance would be hardly worth noticing, but for an obscurity in the hand-writing of the omitted line, and an error in the punctuation, arising, no doubt, from haste. The third Latin line is given above as the author appears to have intended it, and by the substitution of a comma for a full stop at the close of the second, the sense of the whole is rendered intelligible. The translation of the succeeding passage does not convey the author's own meaning very clearly. Instead of alluding to different persons, as implied by the translation, he evidently meant to heap the titles of Pope and Emperor in derision on the vanquished Lewis.]

FOR MR. CHARLES FAIRFAX, STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, IN OXFORD.

DEAR CHARLES,

I HEAR the Dean is come, and I will take the first opportunity of waiting on him and thanking him for his favours to you, which I hope you will study to deserve, as I will to acknowledge. The Bishop of Rochester is come this night for all winter.

It has pleased God to take to Himself, out of a painful life, the Duchess of Buckingham, who died October 20th, at four in the morning, at her house, near the Mews, at St. James's, in the sixty-sixth year of her age. She was an example of virtue and piety in a vicious age and a debauched Court; and, in all her pains and sickness, of great patience and Christian courage. She had no estate but what was part of the Duke's, and goes to them that purchased the lands, and what she had for her life of her father's estate in Yorkshire, which comes to my Lord Fairfax. What she had more was little or nothing, which I suppose she has given to my Lady Betty Windsor, who attended her in her sickness. I suppose she will be buried by her husband in the Abbey. My Lord Fairfax went, the day before her death, to Leeds Castle, and Brian with him, intending, the next week, both of them for Yorkshire, which he will now do, to take possession of what comes to him by her death, about 700*l.* or 800*l.* per annum.

This I thought fit to let you know, and how it concerns us all to trust in God's providence, and not in the favour of great persons. David tells us, men of high degree are a lie

(they promise and never perform), and men of low degree are vanity, that is, have nothing to give. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ.*

God bless you.

BRIAN FAIRFAX.

October 21*st*, 1704.

LADY FAIRFAX.

[Lady Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, was the daughter and heir of Lord Colepepper, and was married to the fifth Lord Fairfax, who died in January 1710. The following letter relates to the sale of the Fairfax property, into which her ladyship and her mother forced the young peer for the purpose of redeeming the Virginia estates. It contains some very curious particulars hitherto unpublished, concerning the death of the fifth Lord Fairfax. From the professions of service in this letter, and his employment by the ladies in the management of their affairs, it may be suspected that Clayton was the steward through whose roguery or ignorance the Yorkshire estates were sold for less than the value of the timber.]

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LADY FAIRFAX, LEEDS CASTLE, NEAR MAIDSTONE, KENT.

I AM honoured with your ladyship's letter of the 12th instant, and omit nothing that I can think is for your ladyship's, or your son's, my lord's interest; and for the estate sold to Alderman Miller, I am assured from a good hand, that the same is worth eight thousand pounds more than he gave for it: of the purchase money three thousand five hundred pounds is in his hands unpaid; though my late lord made out orders to some people for the same, and he is to allow interest for the same at five per cent. till paid. I

have a friend going to York, who hath been well informed in a great many of my lord's affairs, and for a small matter, if your ladyship would please to disburse it, or order me to do it, I will get him to go upon the estate and get me a particular or rental of it, and what timber hath been cut, and your tenants' names, informed well of; about three weeks hence he goes. It was let at near a thousand a year when sold, but worth fourteen hundred, as he was informed in Yorkshire. I cannot learn any other reason Williams had in taking my lord away, but to have the better opportunity of plundering him when dead, which he saw would soon happen; he was removed the 13th of December and died the 6th of January. He had several notes of Sir Francis Child's and a bag of guineas before him a quarter of an hour before he left Pall Mall, and a porter carried him from the chocolate house in the same street, from Mrs. Margett, forty pounds, and as no creditors were paid at his last lodgings, or knew where to find him, Williams or his man took his monies when he was dead or dying. The servant was a creature of Williams's and one that he helped my lord to, and as for Anthony that went away, nobody greater than Williams, and he and his interest he will prefer preferable to that of your ladyship and my young lord's. He lives with Mr. Brown, a merchant; he is not paid, but hath a bond as I hear; he always held in with Williams, so little good will be got by asking him any questions. Mr. Meale your attorney, I spoke with this night, and often see him upon your ladyship's account.

There are some papers of moment relating to the Virginia estate in the hands of a certain person I know, which will be of use, and upon an order from your ladyship I presume he will deliver them. That Mr. Perry is a sharp man, and I fear

you are but very indifferently dealt with by him and his friend in Virginia, and if I don't help you to a chapman for it (which you shall soon hear further from me about), I doubt not of putting your ladyship and your lady mother in a way to make more of it yearly than hath been made since Mr. Perry and his friend's management thereof. In whatever I can be serviceable to your ladyship and good family, please to depend on my hearty endeavours, and that I am

Your ladyship's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

R. CLAYTON.

London, Feb. 23rd, 1709. [*N. S.* 1710.]

[In the next letter it appears that her ladyship has been in London "managing" the business she has set her mind upon, and that she is also "managing" her son, by setting before him the example of his father, whom she accuses of destroying his estate. The moral of all this motherly "management" is seen in the subsequent exile of the son.]

LETTER FROM LADY FAIRFAX TO HER SON, LORD FAIRFAX.

DEAR SON,

LAST Wednesday by the post I received yours, and I do think you are in the right to put off your journey of coming here for a while, since your cousin George Sayers is so near coming into England as next January, which will now be soon here; so that I shall not expect you till he comes. You do very well to make your cousin that compliment, for he may be your friend in many regages hereafter, as his father is now trying in everything he can think to do for us both. Pray let me hear of you once a month, and I

will do the same. I wrote to you last ——— day, just as I went out of London, so I suppose you will have that letter. I am now just got home, very weary with a great cold. I never had so sad a journey in all my life; the ways are most terrible with all the wet weather, so that when you come now the days will be longer, and perhaps the ways better, then it will be pleasanter for you; so take it altogether, it is better so your civility shall not be lost, for they shall know it at Pett's, I do assure you. I love to see you judge well. I have done all I can in business in London now; but it is all very bad. Your father hath destroyed all that can be for you and me both; but I will do all that is in my power to get something again, and I do hope you will deserve it of me in time. I thank you for your news you write me; that story of the Scotch lord is very diverting. I hope there will soon be a peace. I see no other reason than to believe it where I have been; but many in London are against it. I beg you to keep close to your studies; now is your time to advance in that matter. Colonel Cage is a great and entire friend to me, and you have reason to respect him. Likely his son comes to Oxford next spring he tells me. Adieu, dear son. I am

Your loving mother till death,

C. Fairfax.

Your sisters present abundance of service of you. Little Robin is well, and a brave horseman. My service to the Provost. I will write to him speedily, as soon as I can.

Leeds Castle, Dec. 15*th*, 1711.

ROBERT FAIRFAX.

[The writer of this letter appears to have been the Robert Fairfax who succeeded William Fairfax of Steeton. He was a sea-captain, served in the Ruby, and fought a gallant action in 1694, in which he took a French man-of-war called the Entreprenant.]

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX,
AT ORIEL COLLEGE, IN OXFORD, THESE.

My Lord,

I am not only concerned that I was so unhappy in not meeting you at Oxford, when I waited upon you there, the last year, but also when you did me the honour to call lately at my house here, I being then in Yorkshire, where, I do assure your lordship, you have many friends and hearty well-wishers; amongst many of which I often drank your good health; and I am sure that none that has the honour of being related to your lordship has a more sincere affection and willingness to be serviceable to you, whenever in my power, than myself. I have sometimes conferred with Sir John Buckell, on matters relating to the unhappy incumbrances attending your estates in Yorkshire, and shall still be ready to do the same, in order to make the matters as easy as your circumstances will permit.

My lord, I was lately with your aunt, Mary Fairfax, at Denton, who told me she had writ to your lordship, in the behalf of Mr. William Topham, who is now, and has been for many years, curate and preaching minister at Bilbrough; so I need not trouble you with a repeated caricature of him, only thus far I dare venture to say, that were my dear friend, your father, living, he would have readily nominated him on the death of Mr. Stretton, lately deceased, who, during

his life, enjoyed half the benefice of Bilbrough, and Mr. Topham the other, the whole being but 40*l.* per annum, and given by your great ancestor, Lord Thomas the General; and the presentation is now descended to you. Wherefore I humbly request your lordship will please to appoint the said Mr. Topham, according to the sum here under mentioned, the substance of which he transmitted to me by last post. He has performed the cure many years, is an honest man, well respected by your family, and all his neighbours; he is aged between seventy and eighty years, so he cannot, by course of nature, long enjoy it. I shall be very glad by a line to hear of your lordship's health and welfare, which I shall ever wish, because I am always, my lord,

Your lordship's most faithful
And affectionate humble servant,
ROBERT FAIRFAX.

Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 16th October, 1712.

If your lordship please to send the undermentioned, signed, and enclosed to me, I 'll take care to transmit the same to the parson.

"BE it Known unto all Men by these Presents, that I, Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, Do nominate William Topham, Master of Arts, and Curate of Bilbrough, in the Ainsty of the City of York, to be preaching minister there, and to receive all the tithes given to a preaching minister at the said place. Given under my hand, the day and year above written."

My Lord,—Give me leave to acquaint your lordship, that in your father's lifetime he was pleased to direct Mr. Bankes,

at Denton, that I should have a quantity of lime trees of his lordship's sowing there, to set an avenue to my house in Yorkshire; but my agent not removing them before your father died, I would not meddle with them since. As they now stand, they will be quite spoiled, if some be not removed. So if your lordship please to signify your consent, I 'll cause them to be taken up without damage, but with advantage to the rest.

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

[A member of another branch of the Fairfaxes. His "lordship" referred to was the seventh lord. He died without issue, and his estates devolved on the Rev. Denny Martin. The barony was confirmed in 1800 to his kinsman, the Rev. Brian Fairfax, grandson of the fourth baron.]

My good Sir,

Last evening I received your polite and very obliging favour. I also had, duly, what you wrote in relation to the mistake in the last money sent me. I am sincerely sorry you had so much trouble on that account, as it was not of consequence. As I am not competent to judge of the agreement his lordship has been so good to take the trouble of in regard to the unfortunate Morelands, I can only say that my obligations to him are very great; that I have not a doubt but that he acted for the estate as if it had been his own; and I shall acquiesce in what his lordship, Mr. Athawes, and you think proper. I enclose a bill of exchange for 544*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, and request the favour of being informed if it is accepted. Accept my best thanks for all

your friendly wishes for my happy settlement at Lansdowne Place, No. 9, Bath. Indeed, my kind friends, I stand in need of the prayers of all that wish me well; for I have not activity of body or mind equal to this great business of a remove—I wish I may not sink under it. Nothing but actual necessity could have forced me from hence; but could you look on my former peaceful habitation now, you would pity me. All the beautiful meadow ground formed in the front of the house has wide canals cut through it: waggons and carts, loaded with stone, treading all the grass; so that it would not be possible to keep horses here for the future; and you know there is no doing in the country without them. Add to all other things that I have, every day, in my sight, at least a hundred of the workmen; and as I have not the best opinion of those people, I must own I am panic-struck. I do not enter my new house till Michaelmas, which would be as soon as I wish, could I divest myself of my fears. I apprehend I can't get all my things carried to Bath before the last of October. The work is vast in my idea; and here I must stay till the house is empty; for I have not such a confidential friend to act for me as Mr. Athawes has.

I am, Sir,

Your obliged and faithful humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

Wellington House, Sept. 18, 1792.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[This is the Duke of Buckingham, who survives in the satires of Dryden and Pope :

> "A man so various, that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome :
> Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
> Was everything by turns, and nothing long."

The following letter was written probably early in 1666, when, having fallen into disgrace at Court, as Wood tells us, he withdrew and absconded. The account he gives of his devotion to his Majesty's cause is by no means overcharged. He perilled everything for the King ; followed him through all his dangers, was present at Worcester, and shared his banishment. He estimates his estate at 30,000*l.*, which is a third more than his biographers allow him : no doubt an exaggeration. What he says about having influenced Lord Fairfax to join in the Restoration, is a piece of gratuitous boasting to help out his case with the King. Fairfax had made up his mind on that subject long before he became connected with Buckingham, and used Buckingham's interest for his own ends, just as Buckingham used his in 1657, when, stealing back to England, he wooed and married Lady Mary, and so made his peace with the Parliament.]

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE KING.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I DESIRED my Lord Treasurer to beg leave of your Majesty that I might have the honour to speak with you, which your Majesty refused. Afterwards he promised to lay before your Majesty the hardness of my present case, which

he tells me he hath done, though I confess I should hardly believe it, if I had not great experience of his honour and truth in general to all men, as well as of his kindness to me in particular. I am not the least surprised at my having enemies about your Majesty; but I wonder very much, after the many observations I have made of your Majesty's good nature to all the world, that you can find in your heart to use me with so much cruelty who have ever loved you better than myself, and preferred the following you abroad in the worst of your misfortunes before the staying at home to enjoy a plentiful estate.

Pray, Sir, what is it I have done that should make you thus angry with me? Was it my fault that other men did really prejudice your Majesty's affairs upon the hopes of doing me a mischief. Did I say anything in my defence which could possibly be wrested to a reflection upon your Majesty? Or if I was forced to reflect upon others, was it any more than what you yourself gave me leave to do? In case I should be first accused, I beseech your Majesty examine your own heart well upon this subject, and if those that heard me speak do not clear me from having behaved myself disrespectively to your Majesty, I desire no favour from you. I am told the House of Commons have addressed to your Majesty that I may be deprived of all places which I hold during your Majesty's pleasure, the severity of which censure I shall not take upon me now to dispute. But your Majesty may please to remember that by your gracious permission I bought the place of Master of the Horse, which I hold by patent under the Great Seal during my life, with power of nominating my deputy. It is therefore my most humble request to your Majesty I may be allowed to name such a deputy as your Majesty shall approve; that so I may

not wholly lose my right to an office which I purchased by your Majesty's favour, and which the House of Commons were so far from desiring should be taken from me that upon the mention of it in the House it was universally agreed to, that no man's freehold ought to be invaded, and for that reason the address to your Majesty was worded accordingly. Your Majesty knows I have often told you that I would depend upon no man's favour in the Court but yours, and that nothing could make me desire to stay there but your kindness. These have been always my thoughts, and are so still.

If it be upon the score of the House of Commons address to your Majesty that you are resolved to remove me from my place, I hope at least you will not be harder to me than the House of Commons were. And if it be only because your Majesty has a mind the Duke of Monmouth should have it, even in that case I shall not complain of your Majesty; neither I do not think it strange you should love him better than me: but I cannot believe your Majesty would for his sake do any man an injustice.

Consider, I beseech you, that I had the honour to be bred up with your Majesty from a child: That I lost my estate for running from Cambridge, where I was a student, to serve your Majesty and your father, at Oxford, when I was not thought of age sufficient to bear arms, and for that reason was sent away from thence to travel: That after the end of the wars, returning into England, and having my whole estate restored to me by the Parliament, without composition, a few weeks after my return, there happening to be a design laid to take up arms for your Majesty, my brother and I engaged in it, and in the engagement he was killed:

That after this the Parliament voted my pardon, in case I

would return within forty days: That I then, being concealed in London, chose rather, with the hazard of my life, to endeavour to wait upon your Majesty in the Fleet, where I found you, than to stay, possessed of my estate, upon condition of having nothing more to do with your Majesty's fortunes: That afterwards, when your Majesty went out of Holland into Scotland, I was offered my composition for 20,000*l.*, a sum not considerable to me at the time, my estate being then worth 30,000*l.* a-year: That even as to your Majesty's return into England, I may justly pretend to some share; since, without my Lord Fairfax, by engaging in Yorkshire, Lambert's army had never quitted him, nor the Duke of Albemarle marched out of Scotland; and without me, it is sufficiently known to many persons yet alive, that my Lord Fairfax had never engaged.

That in all the employments I have had under your Majesty, I have been so far from getting, that I have wasted the best part of my estate in following and waiting upon your Majesty. All these things being considered, I conceive it will appear but just, that if your Majesty have a desire to make me quit my place, I may be allowed to receive for it the full of what it is worth. Were I now as well in my affairs as when I first came into your Majesty's service, I should never have thought of making this request. Nay, would the condition of my fortune give me leave to yield, I should not dispute with your Majesty anything you could have a mind to take from me. But my whole estate being at present mortgaged, and I having lived to this age without being acquainted with any way of getting money, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, if, being forced to part with my freehold, I desire at least to sell it for the payment of my debts.

I humbly ask your Majesty's pardon for this trouble I

have given you, and beg of you to believe that nothing shall ever separate me from my duty and allegiance to your Majesty; as I cannot despair but that, one day, your Majesty will find the difference between those that truly* love you, and those that serve you only for private ends of their own. I am, may it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient
Subject and servant,
BUCKINGHAM.

A PAPER UNDER THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S OWN HAND, CONCERNING MY LORD FAIRFAX.

FOUND IN HIS CABINET AFTER HIS DEATH.

[I lent the original to the Bishop of Norwich, who lost it; but it is copied by me in another book.—*Note by Brian Fairfax.*]

As soon as Oliver Cromwell was dead, they proclaimed his son, Richard Cromwell, Protector of England, with the same solemnities that even Kings of England were proclaimed Kings. I was then close prisoner in the Tower, with a couple of guards lying alway in my chamber, and a sentinel at my door. I confess I was not a little delighted with the noise of the great guns, for I presently knew what it meant; and if Oliver had lived for three days longer I had certainly been put to death. The causes of Oliver's hatred against me were two: first, that I was married to Lord Fairfax's daughter and heir, who had still a greater interest in the army than Oliver himself, though he had laid down his commission upon them deceiving him in the murder of King Charles the First.

* The Duke's own hand.

I must here beg leave to make a short digression, because I owe it to the memory of my father-in-law. My Lord Fairfax being General of the Army,

[The rest is writ in another book.]

THE CASE BETWEEN THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM AND HENRY LORD FAIRFAX OF CAMERON, 1686.

[Opinion of Counsel.]

13th May, 1637. 13 Car. I. Thomas Lord Fairfax and Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, his eldest son, upon the marriage of Thomas Fairfax, Esq., eldest son of Sir Ferdinando, with Ann Vere, daughter of Lord Vere, settles,—

1. Denton and Askwith to the Lord Fairfax for life; remainder to Sir Ferdinando for life; remainder to Thomas for life; remainder to all the sons of Thomas upon Ann in tail male; remainder to Sir Ferdinando in tail male; remainder to the Lord Fairfax in tail male; remainder in fee to Lord Fairfax.

2. Bilbrough, Ferriby, Skelton, Wistow, Clementhorp, and Bishophill, to the Lord Fairfax for life; remainder to Sir Ferdinando for life; remainder to Thomas in tail male upon Ann; remainder to Thomas in tail male; remainder to Sir Ferdinando in tail male; remainder in tail male to the Lord Fairfax; remainder in fee to the Lord Fairfax.

3. Appleton, Nunappleton, Rigton, Davyhall, Hessey, Clifford, Wraywoods, Sandwith, and Steeton, to the Lord Fairfax, in fee till the marriage and after the marriage; Appleton, Nunappleton, Rigton, Davyhall, and Hessey (except

the rent of 7*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*, and the woods in Appleton and Nunappleton) to Thomas for life; Clifford, Wraywoods, Sandwith, and Steeton, to the Lord Fairfax and his heirs, for the life of Thomas; and after the decease of Thomas, all these in the third paragraph to Ann for life for jointure; remainder to Thomas in tail male upon Ann; remainder in tail male to Thomas; remainder in tail male to Sir Ferdinando; remainder in tail male to Lord Fairfax; remainder in fee to Lord Fairfax.

Proviso for 5000*l.* portion for a daughter.

Bolton Percy not touched in that settlement.

2nd November, 1650. Thomas Lord Fairfax (being heir-male of the body of Sir Strafford, his father, who was heir-male of the body of Thomas Lord Fairfax, his grandfather,) consented to levy a fine of all comprised in the settlement, 31st May, 13 Car. I., to the use of Thomas Lord Fairfax the grandson in fee.

Hill. Ter. 1650. A fine is accordingly levied to the Earl of Clare and the other coventees.

If this fine was thus levied (the exemplification whereof I have seen) I conceive this alone (without any common recovery) bars all the intails in the deed, 31st May, 13 Car. I., and vests a good estate in fee in Thomas Lord Fairfax the grandson.

T. Rokeby.

31*st May*, 1686.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

My Lord,

I need not tell your lordship of the great difficulties I have met withal by the violent proceedings at law of my lord duke's creditors, with whom I was at last forced to come to an agreement, and to pass away my estate at Nun Appleton in trust for their benefit, upon the consideration of five-and-twenty hundred pounds reserved to be paid me (for payment of my debts) upon the sale of the estate. My Lady Ash has been since admitted purchaser, but cannot well go on with her purchase for want of some deeds which are (as I suppose ought properly so to be) in your lordship's custody. Those deeds which are most insisted on are my mother's marriage-settlement, and my father's settlement of Nun Appleton, dated about the 23rd of April, in the eighteenth year of King Charles the Second. And I find no copies will be satisfactory to my Lady Ash's counsel, and therefore I earnestly entreat your lordship's friendship to me to let those deeds be delivered to your lordship's counsel, or some other friend, to be brought up to town, in order to be produced to my lady's counsel, that the purchase may be expedited, and that I may happily be a little at ease from my clamorous creditors; which I hope your lordship, in kindness to me, will be ready to promote, it being noways prejudicial to your lordship's interest, as I am informed by my counsel; who have positively assured me your lordship could not possibly reap any benefit from this estate, it being entirely swallowed up by the incumbrances upon it. And it was chiefly this consideration that inclined me at first to hearken to the agreement I before

mentioned, and which I hope may incline your lordship to hearken to, and grant the favour I now beg of your lordship, which will be an infinite obligation to me, who am,

My lord,

Your lordship's affectionate cousin

And humble servant,

MARY BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, 28th September, 1700.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

MY LORD,

YOU need make no apologies for not writing to me. You are busy at home and abroad. There is yet no news of a proclamation for the sitting of the Parliament. You shall hear so soon as any is talked of. There is a council on Thursday, and perhaps we may have it then determined, though there is no necessity of it till after Christmas, nor then, except the King of Spain's death, who they say recovers.

I have endeavoured to inform myself what the new purchasers of Appleton want to confirm their title. I am told it is the Deed of Settlement at the marriage of my late Lord Thomas and his lady, Anne Vere, wherein 5000*l.* and no more was settled as a portion upon a daughter, if no heir male. Of this deed mention is made in the last settlement of the late Lord Thomas, wherein he gives Bolton and Appleton to the *Duchess and the heirs of her body,* and if she have none, to the heirs of my grandfather; and this in lieu of her 5000*l.*, but not to have both; and all fines, recoveries, &c., to inure to those purposes; and no other mentioned in

that Deed of Settlement, which is enrolled in the Chancery. But the deed they want, I suppose is the first deed of my grandfather, which gave her 5000*l.*, and that deed, I believe you have at Denton, and if you have, I am sure you owe not my lady duchess so much service as to let her have it, to gratify either her or the purchasers. I would advise you to look it out, and show it to some good counsel; if Mr. Witton be in the country, he was privy to these settlements. I fear the fines and recoveries passed by the Duke and Duchess will bar all, though I suffered for advising your father to secure his title, by blame and otherwise. Pray bring that deed up with you.

My Lord Tankerville will be Privy Seal, and they say my Lord Godolphin will come again in his place of the Treasury. The King comes on Saturday to Kew, and stays four or five days, but returns to Hampton Court only a day in a week to council. My Lord Mayor had a fine day for his show after a week of rainy weather. My Lord Falconberg is still in a dozing languishing condition. I hope my pretty nephew is well. My love to Brian, I will write to him the next post. All our services to your lordship.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

B. Fairfax.

October 29, [1700].

FROM BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, OF DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

My Lord,

I writ last post to your lordship concerning Appleton, and I hope you will advise with wiser men than I pretend to be, what is fit for you to do; but, in my opinion, you should

continue your claim, now the duchess has parted with all her interest; and the sooner you do it the better, before the bargain be finished, because when the money is paid, the law will favour a purchaser more than another. I pretend not to be a lawyer; but in reason (and that should be law) the deeds of the grandfather and the late lord should be valid. By the first, the estate is entailed upon yourself as heir in tail, and fortified by another deed, which is that they would now have, made at the marriage of the late lord, whereby 5000*l.*, and no more, was to be the duchess's portion, and all fines or recoveries, done or to be done, were to inure to that purpose; whereby it appeared how desirous my old lord grandfather was to keep the estate in the heirs male.

The next is the deed of settlement of the late Lord Thomas Fairfax, wherein Bolton and Appleton are given to the duke and duchess for life, and to the heirs of her body; but if she have none, to the heirs of the Lord Fairfax the grandfather. Now I would know what barbarous law (for the whole law of fines is no better) should give her power, having no children, to sell this estate, because she was in a possibility of having children, which now I think she is not. Perhaps if a judge should say this is law, a jury will say it is not reason.

I would not put you on projects, but I think you should consult with the best lawyers of England, and not only make your claim to the estate of Bolton and Appleton, but choose a farm, and have a trial for it. If they fail in any of their fines and recoveries, they are gone; and this claim of yours will discourage any purchaser. The sooner the better, before it be concluded; though I am told the duchess has her share of 2000*l.* paid already, so that you have no restraint upon you on her account, which has been more than deserved. I am sorry Mr. Benlowes has been so negligent in this

business. Before you come out of the country, I think you should visit Bolton, and ask to whom they pay their rents. If to the duchess, you disturb them not; if to anybody else, forbid them. But advise with your friends; though I think you should do it immediately.

There is no proclamation yet for the sitting of the Parliament. I told a privy councillor to-day how acceptable it would be to the Parliament men to know whether or when they should sit. He said perhaps there would be a proclamation ordered next council day, which is not till Sunday, at Kensington; for there is none to-day at Hampton Court. He says fifteen days is time enough; I say twenty is the usual time. You shall know as soon as any. My Lord Tankerville is Privy Seal; Marlborough, Secretary; Godolphin, First Treasurer; Earl of Rochester, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

B. Fairfax.

October, 31*st*, 1700.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

My Lord,

I have received yours of the 29th of October, and the enclosed, to which I think you have given a good answer, and it concerns you to be cautious, doing nothing but by advice of your counsel when you come to London. This is the third letter I have written to your lordship on this occasion, though perhaps I was mistaken as to the deed she writes for, which I took to be that at the marriage of her father and mother, dated —— year of King Charles the First, wherein she was to have 5000*l.* and no more. But all the

deeds make against her, for they all entail the estate upon the heirs males of the first Thomas Lord Fairfax. I cannot tell what she means by the deed she now desires a sight of, which she calls her mother's marriage settlement of Nun-Appleton, dated the 23rd of April, in the eighteenth year of King Charles the Second, which I think is Anno Domini 1666, many years after that marriage. I suppose she means the last settlement of my Lord Thomas which bears that date, and therefore I think if you judged it necessary to have written your answer to her Grace, it might have been a good excuse that you knew not what writings she meant. But perhaps it is better not to write, though I should write in these terms to her: That you have received a letter from her, and are sorry to be put upon so ungrateful an employment, as to search for writings to enable her to sell an estate, which by all the deeds, both of the first Lord Thomas Fairfax and of her own father, was entailed on the heirs of her body, and for default of such heirs upon yourself; and now she has parted with all her interest, you think yourself bound in honour and conscience to assert the title in behalf of those that come after you, and make those mortgages and pretended debts be publicly produced, that were so clandestinely obtained: You should have waited on her before you came down, but you heard she had taken offence where none was given, and you have been denied such common favours, as makes you think all your actions have been misrepresented by her officers, for their own ends, as it now appears. Your lordship will pardon me running on at this rate, but I think you had better say nothing, till you come up. Examine your writings, but part with none, nor can the Chancery compel any man to show deeds to his own prejudice, till he think fit to produce them.

An express came last night from our ambassador at Paris, that the King of Spain died the 1st of November, New Style; they say he has left his crown to the Duke of Anjou, but the King of France will have it his own way. This may hasten a resolution of calling a Parliament, and we expect on Tuesday next it will be determined, though they said before this news came it would not sit till after Christmas; the King comes to-morrow (being Sunday) to Kensington, and tarries till Wednesday. Mr. Strutt calls Nevill a very knave, and I believe him.

I know not whether you have the original Deed of Settlement, dated 23rd of April, in the eighteenth of Charles the Second, which was in my old Lord Clare's custody, being a Trustee; but I remember when he was in Italy, he sent over to his mother to deliver it into my hands, to be enrolled in Chancery, and your father and I went to the Master of the Rolls (Sir Harbottle Grimston) and had it done; and I think the deed was returned again to my Lord Clare. A copy I have, and being enrolled it is your evidence, though you have not the original; but it concerns you to examine, and take a note of your evidences. Your lordship will pardon my boldness. My service to my little nephew, and love to Brian.

Your most humble servant,

B. Fairfax.

November 2nd, 1700.

FROM BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ., TO THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX, ON THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM'S CLAIMS.

My Lord,

I received a letter from my son dated at Tadcaster, in your way to Bolton, and shall be glad to hear what you did: there can be no hurt, if there come no good; and it is fit they should be made to produce their writings, who demand to see yours. I have discoursed with my Lord Bishop of Rochester, and our advice is to show all respect to her Grace, but show no writings. Since you have thought fit to renew your claim, it is his opinion you should write to her Grace an answer to hers; he bid me draw one, which I have written on the back side of this, which he saw and approves, if you think fit to send it. We know not yet whether a new or old parliament, or when they will sit, but conclude it will not be till after Christmas. The bishop and I have laid a wager; he says a new one, I fancy the old one, for why should they be disobliged who will be most of them chosen again. On Thursday next is a council at Kensington, and then perhaps we shall be wiser. We take it for granted the King of France prefers the King of Spain's will before his own deed. Mr. Hill is going to Brussels. I hope Brian will excuse my not writing this post.

I am your lordship's,

B. F.

November 12th, 1700.

COPY OF LETTER TO BE WRITTEN BY LORD FAIRFAX TO THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I RECEIVED a letter from your Grace wherein you are pleased to desire some writings, supposed to be in my hands, concerning Bolton and Appleton, particularly a Deed of Settlement, at my lady your Grace's mother's marriage, dated 1660, which must be a great mistake. I told the man who brought it, that I intended to be shortly in London, and would then wait on your Grace. But hearing that your Grace has parted with all your interest in those lands, if I have any such writings, they can be of no real use to your Grace, and it is no pleasure to me to gratify a purchaser, seeing that after your Grace, I take myself to have a right. The claim made by my father, and since by myself, however it has been represented, was never intended to disturb the possession in your Grace, but as we were advised, to secure the title of these lands to the heirs males of the family, as they were expressly given, by all the deeds and settlements that were ever made. And I think myself obliged in honour and conscience to do all the law allows, to assert this title to my posterity, till the pretended creditors and mortgagees show a better. I should have taken it for a great honour to have received any mark of your Grace's favour, as I have of your noble father's, whose memory I shall ever honour, and pay the debt of gratitude owing to it, by my dutiful respects to your Grace, who am

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

ENTRY OF FIFTH LORD FAIRFAX TO THE SEVERAL MANORS OF BOLTON-PERCY, APPLETON, AND NUN-APPLETON.

November 11th, 1700.—Memorandum, that the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax of Denton, in the County of York, Baron of Cameron (the day and year above written), did make claim and entry to the several manors of Bolton Percy, Appleton, and Nun-Appleton, upon several parcels of ground within the said several manors (viz.), Horseclose-wood within Nun-Appleton, Newclose within Appleton, and Hall-garth within Bolton Percy; as right heir male, claiming the said several manors after the death of the Right Noble the Lady Duchess of Buckingham, daughter of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax deceased.

In the presence of

H. Fairfax, Robert White,
Bar. Fairfax, Ja. Macdaniell,
Br. Fairfax, Rowland Jaques,
Tho. Clapham, Ber. Bankes,
Will. Naington.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

My Lord,

I lately received a letter from your lordship, dated 7th instant, which though intended, as I suppose, for an answer to mine of the 28th of September last, comes at that distance of time, that I may well presume mine was perfectly forgotten; and the more I consider your lordship's answer, the more I am confirmed in my opinion; for it

speaks of my mother's marriage settlement, dated 1660, which I am sure my letter does no ways mention; for the two distinct deeds I desired your lordship to admit to be produced to my Lady Ashe's counsel, were indeed what I then called (and think I may properly do so still) my mother's marriage settlement, without mentioning the date of it; and my father's settlement of Nun Appleton, dated about the 23rd of April, in the eighteenth year of King Charles the Second, and not one word of a marriage settlement in the year 1660 that I know of, as your lordship is pleased to mention in yours (for that cannot possibly be); and farther, that you understand I have parted with my interest in that estate, without taking the least notice of the five-and-twenty hundred pounds, which I observed to your lordship in my letter, was reserved to be paid me for payment of my own debts, which are very burthensome and very grievous to me, and 'twas that made me so earnestly entreat your lordship's friendship to suffer those deeds to be produced, that I might be thereby eased from the clamours of my creditors; and yet, I confess, this is such a favour as I could not hope for, nor should not have asked for, had I not had, as I observed to your lordship in my last, not only the opinion of my own counsel (very able in the law), but also that of the whole court, that those estates are entirely subjected to my lord duke's debts, and your lordship thereby totally frustrated of all manner of benefit or claim to them. However, to make short of the matter, suppose your lordship does pretend a title, which I take to be utterly groundless, yet, be it how it will, it is certain that showing it now can no more prejudice it, than concealing of it will mend it hereafter. When your lordship shall have well considered this, I hope, though not for my sake, yet for the sake of the

memory of my father, as your lordship mentions, you will be inclined to comply with my request, and thereby do justice to his daughter, and am,

My lord,

Your lordship's affectionate cousin,

And humble servant,

MARY BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, November 31st, 1700.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON.

MY LORD,

I BEG your lordship's pardon for not waiting on you myself; the reason, being very much indisposed by a cold. The inclosed came to my hands last post from her Grace's solicitor, and I presume it's upon the same errand of the former I delivered to your lordship. I am concerned no further than as to transmit the inclosed. He intimates in his letter to me that what her Grace desires cannot be any ways prejudicial to your lordship; and you not going to London and producing the deeds, is to her. That if your lordship be advised to the contrary, then they hope you will not insist on privilege. I shall not trouble your lordship any further, but desire you will answer her Grace's letter, and vouchsafe as much to,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

WALTER SOTHEBY.

York, December 10th, 1700.

FOR BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ., AT HIS HOUSE, NEAR THE ABBEY OF WESTMINSTER.

[In this letter we have an account of the last moments of the Duke of Buckingham, which directly contradicts the tradition transmitted to us through the celebrated lines of Pope—

> "In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
> The floors of plaster and the walls of dung;
> On once a flock-bed, but repaired with straw,
> With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw;
> The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
> Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
> Great Villiers lies," &c.]

SIR,

I AM this evening obliged with the favour of yours of the 20th instant, and your kind inquiries after the health of your old schoolfellow, who truly wishes yours, and has all service for my Lord Fairfax.

As it fell to my share to know as much of the last moments of the late Duke of Buckingham as any then about him, so at your instance I shall readily give answer to satisfy any, that he died in the best house in Kirkby Moorside (which neither is, nor ever was, an alehouse); and that when he was moved to receive the sacrament he consented to it, and received it from the hands of the minister of the parish, with great decency and seeming devotion; while we, who received with him, were somewhat doubtful of his swallowing the bread, because of his weakness and pain. Hence we had reason to conclude he had died in the communion of the Church of England, and none about him at that time ever questioned it that I heard of. Indeed, my Lord of Arran (who was then there) could not be prevailed with to commu-

nicate with his Grace and us. What my lord's reasons were for that unwillingness I know not; but my lord (now Duke of Hamilton) is a witness of the truth of his Grace's thus receiving, his lordship being (if I am not much mistaken) in the room then.

I omit at present many particulars which I could give some account of, as to making his will, his naming his heir, &c., which his Grace would not be persuaded to. If you please to command any farther account of the very last passages of his life, the respect and honour I had from him, and for him, engage me to answer you in favour of his memory. I had not the honour to converse with him any long time before his dying days; but, so far as I ever had any discourse with his Grace, he was always pleased to express a love for good men and good things, how little able soever he was to live up to what he knew.

You may please to let me hear of your receiving this, and wherein I can any way serve you; for I am,

Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

J. Gibson.

Welburne, 27th February, 1706. [*N.S.* 1607.]

THE MARRIAGE OF ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK.

[These papers (from Mr. Bentley's Collection) will be read with interest. Anne Hyde was the daughter of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and was one of the maids of honour to the Princess Henrietta during the exile of the royal family. The Duke of York first met her in his sister's house, and, being struck by her beauty,

made love to her. But he failed in his advances; the lady was too wary to be duped by his protestations; and she managed the affair with such adroitness that he finally married her. The marriage was secret and unknown to her father, and when the Restoration recalled the Stuarts to England, the Duke attempted to disown it, and even, it is said, descended to threats and acts of violence to induce her to release him. But the Duchess was firm, and insisted upon the public acknowledgment of her rights. The case was investigated by the command of the King, and the lady was duly recognised as Duchess of York. She gave birth to two daughters, Mary and Anne, who were afterwards successively Queens of England.

Amongst the following papers will be found the depositions of the persons who were present at the marriage, including the declarations of the Duke and Duchess, the former being at last compelled to acknowledge her as his wife.

The Lady Cornbury was the wife of her eldest brother, Henry, who afterwards succeeded to his father's title. Lady Henrietta Hyde, married to her second brother Laurence, afterwards created Earl of Rochester, was the daughter of the Earl of Burlington.]

DEPOSITION OF ELLEN STROUDE CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK WITH ANNE HYDE.

Ellen Stroude, aged 30 years or thereabouts, saith: she being servant to the Lord Chancellor's daughter, was present at her marriage with his Highness the Duke of York here in England, and that they were married by Dr. Crowther, a minister of the Church of England according to the order of marriage in the book of Common Prayer. The words of marriage thereby prescribed being used and pronounced by them in her hearing, and they did plight their troth to each other and the joining hands and giving and receiving a ring, and other forms of marriage prescribed in

the Common Prayer Book were used. And she further saith that the Lord Ossory was then also present and gave the said Duchess in marriage to his Highness the Duke of York: of the truth of all which the said Ellen Stroude doth take her corporal oath, this 18th of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

her
Ellen × Stroude.
mark.

DEPOSITION OF DR. CROWTHER CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK TO ANNE HYDE.

I Joseph Crowther, Doctor in Divinity, aged 53 years or thereabouts, do affirm and depose upon my oath, that I being formerly ordained a minister of the Church of England, did, upon the 3rd day of September last, between the hours of ten and two in the night, marry his Highness the Duke of York unto the now Duchess, the Lord Chancellor's daughter, here in England, by the Book of Common Prayer, and did use the words of marriage, and they both pronounced the words prescribed by the Common Prayer Book for order of marriage, and the forms of plighting troth, joining hands, giving and receiving a ring, the endowment, &c., pronouncing the marriage with the usual words, whom God hath joined let no man put asunder, were all used, and the marriage concluded by the blessing. And I do further affirm that the Lord Ossory and a servant of the Duchess's, called Ellen Stroude, were then there, and that the Lord Ossory did give and present the Duchess in marriage to his Highness. Of the truth of all which, I the said Doctor Crowther, do take my corporal oath this 18th of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

Jos. Crowther.

DEPOSITION OF THE EARL OF OSSORY CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK WITH ANNE HYDE.

I Thomas Boteler, Lord Ossory, son and heir apparent to the Marquis of Ormond, aged 27 years or thereabouts, do depose upon my oath that I was present at the marriage of his Highness the Duke of York with the Duchess of York, the Lord Chancellor's daughter, upon the 3rd day of September last, and did see them married between the hours of ten and two of the clock at night by Doctor Crowther, a minister; and that the words of marriage were used and read out of the Common Prayer Book, and pronounced by them both according as they are set down in the Common Prayer Book for the order of marriages. And that I did give and present her in marriage to his Highness, and a ring was given and the marriage consummated with the blessing of the minister. Of the truth of all which, I the said Lord Ossory do take my corporal oath, this 18th day of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

Ossory.

DECLARATION OF ANNE HYDE RESPECTING HER MARRIAGE WITH THE DUKE OF YORK.

I Anne, Duchess of York, do declare and depose, that the Duke of York having solicited me in the way of marriage near the space of a year, we were contracted upon the 24th of November, 1659, at Breda in Brabant, and afterwards we lived together as man and wife, though with all possible secrecy, and after my coming into England we were again married upon the 3rd of September last, in the night,

between eleven and two, at Worcester House; Dr. Crowther performing that office according as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer, the Lord Ossory being then present, and giving me in marriage, and Ellen Stroude my maid-servant being then likewise present; of the truth of all which I do take my corporal oath, this 18th day of February, 1660. [N.S. 1661.]

ANNE.

DECLARATION OF JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, RESPECTING HIS MARRIAGE WITH ANNE HYDE.

I JAMES, Duke of York, do testify and declare that after I had for many months solicited Anne, my now wife, in the way of marriage, I was contracted to her on the 24th of November, 1659, at Breda in Brabant, and after that time, and many months before I came into England, I lived with her (though with all possible secrecy) as my wife, and after my coming into this kingdom; and that we might observe all that is enjoined by the Church of England, I married her upon the 3rd of September last, in the night, between eleven and two, at Worcester House, my chaplain, Dr. Crowther, performing that office according as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer, the Lord Ossory being then present and giving her in marriage: of the truth of all which I do take my corporal oath this day, this 18th of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

JAMES.

ANNE HYDE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY CORNBURY.

DEAR SISTER,

I WAS in such haste on Saturday to go to dinner to the Archbishop's that I could not then possibly answer your letter, but I assure you I received it with great satisfaction, and do desire you very much to continue doing it; for I assure you nobody can have more real kindness for you than I have, and desire nothing more than to have in my power to show it you better than yet I have been able to do. I expect with great impatience my Lady Burlington in this country, which would add very much to the satisfaction I have here already. This is really a very good place, and I am sure at Salisbury you have not so good a place to take the air in as we have here. I do not know whether I make you an ill compliment, but I wish you very often to see it. I find we are like to have many feasts; to-morrow my Lord Mayor makes us one, which I know will be very troublesome. The post is just going, so that I have time to say no more, but that I am

Your most affectionate sister,

ANNE (HYDE).

Pray tell my brother your writing will not excuse him, and amongst you I hope you will send some news.

York, August 14th.

ANNE HYDE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY CORNBURY.

DEAR SISTER,

I COULD not possibly get time to answer your letter sooner; but when I do not that, I have always time to bless God for having you in our family. I hear such perpetual commendations of you from thence, that I can never thank you enough for making them so happy; but I am sure shall not only wish, but do my endeavour, that you may not repent it; but I cannot but wish them so much ill now as that you were now at Lansborough, whither I am to go on Monday to lie that night, and where I am sure my Lady Anne cannot wish you more than I shall, though I dare swear she does it heartily; and indeed never was a young lady so much alone; and I doubt not but she will like it so ill now, that she will follow your example and make somebody happy quickly.

Pray tell my brother Lory I am very glad to see by his letter to my Lady Burlington that he is alive and has not forgot to write. I am sure it must be for your sake that I can forgive his not writing to me, for nothing should make me do it but being really

Your most affectionate sister,

ANNE (HYDE).

Pray tell my brother Cornbury I could not possibly get time to write above two letters this post, and that I hope he will excuse my not answering his till the next.

York, August 30th.

ANNE HYDE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY HENRIETTA HYDE.

Your letter came in very good time to show me you would not break your word, which I began a little to suspect you of, it being so long since you went away. You know laziness is the only fault I ever assure of, which you ought not to take ill, since it proceeds from the great desire I have always to see or hear from you, which I assure you I never did more than now; and I think you would not be displeased with the little journeys I am now making; for after having been ten days at Hampton Court, where the condition I am in hindering me from the divertisements of the place (of rising at five in the morning to fish, and being in the sun as long as it was up), I confess I was very weary; and you will easily believe very glad of the Duke's leave to come hither last night, where I am to stay with him till Monday, when we are both to go together to Farnham, and stay there till the end of the week. You will say it is no compliment to wish you with me, when every body is a-hunting; but I hope you are not now to be persuaded that there are few things in the world I am better pleased with than your company. I speak the truth; and to show you believe it, let me desire your letter without ceremony or compliment.

Remember me very kindly to your father and mother, and tell them I do wish, all my heart wish, myself at Lansborough.

Windsor, September 3rd.

ANNE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY HENRIETTA HYDE.

I HAVE written so long a letter to my brother Lory that I should not have done it at all to you, but to show you that I would not miss answering your letter, that you may be assured they can never come too often to me; and I think we ought now to be well enough acquainted to write no more with ceremony: and I begin this so to give you the example, and to desire you to follow it. This night we expect your mother here, and she has promised me to stay as long as I do; and I will not fail to do my endeavour to persuade her to come along to Oxford, whither I pray God to bring us all in good health that I may at a nearer distance assure you again how real a kindness I have for you.

York, September 12th.

THE PRINCESS MARY, WIFE OF WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE, TO LADY HENRIETTA HYDE.

IF you had known when you writ your letter the satisfaction I have to hear from you, you would not have given yourself the trouble to have made so many excuses to me for it; and though I hope my sister will never have more occasion to make you her secretary, yet that you will sometimes write, which, whenever you do it, will be with great pleasure to me both for your own sake and my sister Isabella, that I may hear how she does, which will be the greatest joy that can be to me when I hear she is well, and

otherwise a very great affliction; for though she is so little as not to be sensible of the love I have for her, yet I cannot help telling it to you, and desire you to be very well assured that for yourself I shall always have great kindness for you, and be ever your very affectionate friend,

MARY.

February the 18th.

Pray do not forget to remember me to your daughter, and let her know I saw the letter in which she thanked me for the watch. I hope that good office I did her for it will make her remember me. When you write next, do not use so much ceremony.

EXTRACTS TAKEN FROM THE MEMORANDUM, OR POCKET-BOOK, MADE OF ASSES' SKIN, BELONGING TO ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK, WRITTEN IN PENCIL WITH HER OWN HAND.

I WAS born the 12th day of March, O.S., in the year of our Lord 1637, at Cranborne Lodge, near Windsor, in Berkshire, and lived in my own country till I was twelve years old, having in that time seen the ruin both of Church and State, and the murdering of my King. The 1st of May, O.S., 1649, I came out of England, being the (then) twelve years old one month and eighteen days. I came to Antwerp the 6th of May, O. S.; the August following I went to Bruxelles for three or four days, and returned again to Antwerp, where I staid till May, 1651; and then went again to Bruxelles for a week, and returned to Antwerp again, where I staid till April, 1652, and then I went to the Hague, where I staid three weeks, being

lodged at the Court of her Highness the Princess Royal. I returned to Antwerp in May, where I have been ever since. February the 8th, 1653, and I am now fifteen years old, ten months and twenty-seven days.

If I live till the 22nd of March, 1653, I am sixteen years old.

My dear aunt Bab was, when she died, twenty-four years old, and as much as from April to August.

[In another hand, but written in the same Memorandum-book.]

On the 31st of March, being Friday, the Duchess died (viz. Anne Hyde) at St. James's, and was buried the Wednesday following, 1671.

These books I would have my father give me—

The Illustrious Bashaw, the Grand Cyrus, Cleopatra, and the Holy Court.

[In the Duchess's hand-writing.]

God is an eternal, infinite, immutable, almighty, infinitely wise, and infinitely good spirit.

Je m'en vay mourier d'amour, mais ce n'est pas pour un infidel comme vous.

ANNE HYDE.

Adieu pour jamais, mais n'oubliez pas la plus miserable personne du monde.

ANNE HYDE.

Barbara Aylesbury, je l'aime plus que moy mesme mille fois.

ANNE HYDE.

THE DUCHESS OF YORK'S MOTIVES FOR EMBRACING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.

WHEREAS I have been ever from my infancy bred up in the English Protestant religion, and have had very able persons to instruct me in the ground thereof, and I doubt not but I am exposed to the censure of an infinite number of persons, that are astonished at my quitting of it to embrace the religion of the Roman Catholics, from which I have always professed a great aversion; and therefore I have thought fit to give some satisfaction to my friends, by declaring unto them the reasons upon which I have been moved to do it, without engaging myself in long and unprofitable disputes touching that matter.

I protest therefore, before God, that since my coming into England, no person, either man or woman, hath at any time persuaded me to alter my religion, or hath used any discourse to me upon the subject; it hath been only particular favour from God, who hath been graciously pleased to hear the prayers I daily made unto him, both in France and Flanders, whilst I was there, that he would vouchsafe to bring me to the true Church before I died, in case I was not in the right; and it was the devotion I observed in the Catholics there which induced me to make that prayer, although my own devotion during all that time was very slender. I did, notwithstanding, all the time I was in those countries, believe I was in the true religion, neither had I the least scruple of it until November last, at which time, reading Doctor Healing's History of the Reformation, which had been highly recommended to me, I was so far from

finding the least satisfaction I expected, that I found nothing but sacrileges; and looking over the reasons therein set down, which had caused the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, I read three there which seemed to me great impiety.

1. The first was, that King Henry the Eighth had cast off the Pope's authority, because he would not permit him to quit his wife and marry another.

2. The second, that during the minority of Edward the Sixth, his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, who then governed all, and was the principal in that alteration, did greatly enrich himself with the goods of the Church, which he engrossed.

3. And the third consisted in this, that Queen Elizabeth, not being rightful heir to the Crown, could not keep it but by renouncing a Church which would never allow of such injustice. I could not be persuaded that the Holy Ghost would ever have made use of such motives as these were to change religion; and was astonished that the bishops, if they had no other intention but to re-establish the doctrine of the Primitive Church, had not attempted it before the schism of Henry the Eighth, which was grounded upon such unjustifiable pretences.

Being troubled with scruples I began to make some reflections upon those points of doctrine wherein we differed from the Catholics, and to that purpose had recourse to the Holy Scripture, and though I pretended not perfectly to understand it, I found notwithstanding several points which to me seemed very plain, and I cannot but wonder that I remained so long time without taking notice of them; amongst these were the real presence of our Saviour in the Sacrament, the infallibility of the Church, Confession, and Prayer for the

Dead. I treated of these particulars severally with two of the most learned bishops of England, and discoursing upon those subjects, they both told me that it was to be wished that the Church of England had retained several things it has altered; as for example, Confession; which without doubt is of divine institution. They told me also that Prayer for the Dead had been used in the Primitive Church during the first centuries, and that they themselves did daily observe those things though they desired not publicly to own these doctrines; and having pressed one of them something earnestly touching these things, he frankly told me that if he had been bred up in the Catholic religion he should not have left it, but being now a member of that Church which believed all the articles necessary to salvation, he thought he should do ill to quit it, because he was beholden to that Church for his baptism, and he should thereby give occasion of great scandal unto others. All these discourses were a means to increase the desire I had to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, and added much to the inward trouble of my mind; but the fear I had to be hasty in a matter of that importance made me act warily, with all precautions necessary in such a case. I prayed incessantly to God he would be pleased to inform me in the truth concerning these points whereof I doubted. Upon Christmas-day going to receive the Sacrament at the King's Chapel, I found myself in a greater trouble than ever I had been in, neither was it possible for me to be at quiet, until I had discovered myself to a certain Catholic, who presently brought me a priest; he was the first of them with whom I ever conversed, and the more I conversed with him the more I found myself to be confirmed in the resolution I had taken. It was, I thought, impossible to doubt of these words, "This is my body;"

and I am verily persuaded our Saviour, who is Truth itself, and hath promised to continue with his Church to the world's end, would never suffer these Holy Mysteries to be communicated to the laity, only under one kind. If it were inconsistent with his institution of that Sacrament, I am not able to dispute touching these things with anybody, and if I were, I would not go about to do it, but I content myself to have writ these to justify the change I have made of my religion, and call God to witness I had not done it had I believed I could have been saved in that Church whereof till then I was a member. I protest seriously I have not been induced to this by any worldly interest or motives, neither can the truth of this my protestation be rationally doubted by any person, since it was evident that hereby I left all my friends, and very much prejudiced my reputation; but having seriously considered myself whether I ought to renounce my position in the other world, to enjoy the advantage of my present being here, I assure you I found no difficulty at all to resolve the contrary, for which I render thanks to God, who is the Author of all goodness.

My only prayer to Him is, that the poor Catholics of this kingdom may not be persecuted on my account; and I beseech God to grant me patience in my own afflictions, and that what tribulation soever his goodness hath appointed for me, I may so go through with them, as that I may hereafter enjoy a happiness for all eternity.

Given at St. James's this 20th of August, 1670.

JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[The Lord Keeper Williams was a prominent man in his day. His feud with Laud was one of the early incidents of the reign of Charles I., which marked out the growing dissensions between the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. He was appointed Lord Keeper and Bishop of Lincoln in 1621, but having incurred the displeasure of the King, was removed from his dignities through the influence of Buckingham, and thrown into the Tower, where he remained for three years and a half. He petitioned the King by the Queen's mediation, but Laud interposed, and his petition was refused. The Parliament met in the November after the date of the following letter, and sending the Usher of the Black Rod to demand his liberation from the Lieutenant of the Tower, restored him to his seat in the House.]

TO THE MOST HONOURABLE AND MY MOST NOBLE LORD, THOMAS, EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

My most honourable and most noble Lord,

Not the hope of being able for the small remainder of my life to perform any proportionable service or gratitude unto your good lordship for your former justice and favours towards me, by which I enjoy that little remainder I have of any civil or political being, but that innate propension which nature hath planted in every man's heart, to repair thither for help where he hath formerly found relief, makes me (otherwise of myself not forward in this kind of boldness) to rush thus unseasonably upon your lordship's more serious affairs, upon these occasions of storms and adversities.

The tower of London, my noble lord, is, for his Majesty's

greater affairs, from a fair palace and quiet abode, turned of late to a fort or citadel, and become so full of soldiers, and that kind of din or noise, which is most adverse and contrary to retired thoughts, and the disposition of a student, so that as I have been sequestered for above these three years past from the company of the living, so am I now bereaved from any conversation with the dead, and kept close prisoner from men and books in effect, until such time in the evening as these people are withdrawn unto their private huts and cabins.

May it please your good lordship, therefore, out of your own nobleness and pity, to procure me to be removed from this prison to any other place of abode where I may enjoy a little fresh and dry air, upon what terms, limitations, and conditions the King's Majesty, or the lords, shall hold convenient—the rather, my good lord, because there is received (or now due), out of my poor sequestered estate, half as much more as my fine comes unto.

For his Majesty's last offence conceived against me, about a proposition made unto, and recalled from Mr. Hambden, in twenty-four hours, I have to his Majesty taken the fault wholly upon myself, because others will participate of no burthens of this kind. It was in Hilary Term that the motion was made unto me as from his Majesty, to petition for the putting off that hearing, with full assurance I should be presently restored to my poor fortunes, and when I had so petitioned, I was notwithstanding kept from all means and liberty, my Parliament writ stopped, and I never had any particular (though I earnestly called for it) brought unto me in his Majesty's name, only on the very night before the last Parliament was broken up, and then God knoweth in what matter and manner that proposition or

rather question was put upon me. Now my business with my kinsman, Mr. Hambden, was begun and ended ten or twelve days before that time, which his Majesty, peradventure, is not informed of; and further, I do not go about to excuse this accident, otherwise than in humbly craving pardon of his Majesty if I have offended.

Lastly, whereas your lordship, as Mr. Lieutenant tells me, hath heard complaints of some brabbles between a servant of mine and some of the warders of the Tower, be pleased to understand that that warder who complained unto me was quite drunk, as it seems my man was also, who hath been sufficiently punished already, both by Mr. Lieutenant and the warders, and more severely by myself. But it is not worth the troubling of your good lordship with what passed between that one warder and me; seeing that I am assured, and have good witness thereof, he was in such a case at that time as I could not possibly understand him, and therefore he might easily misunderstand me, and in consequence thereof misreport me.

My lord, whether I shall receive this favour or any other from your lordship, I am, for those great ones already past, and the esteem I have ever borne of your most noble person, lady, and family,

Your lordship's most obliged servant and bedesman,

Jo. Lincoln.*

Tower, this 2nd of October, 1640.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

CURIOUS STORY RELATED BY BISHOP TILLOTSON.

[From the Analecta Fairfaxiana.]

July 18, 1691. This day the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Tillotson) told me this story:

Sir Edward Turner, Alderman of London, and one of the Governors of Bedlam, told him that in his time it happened that some gentlemen going to see Bedlam, a mad-woman there, upon the sight of them, cried out, "My child! my child!" When they went away, she desired the keeper to go after him, and beg him, for God's sake, to come back again, and let her kiss him. The keeper, observing that she spoke it with so earnest and seeming sober look, prevailed with the gentleman to return and give her that satisfaction. She embraced him, and kissed him, and told him she was sure he was her son. The company wondering at it, asked him if he knew what she meant. He stood amazed, and after a while told them, for aught he knew, he might be her child, for he was spirited away when he was a child and carried to Barbadoes, and he never knew his father or his mother. He was now a rich merchant. The mad-woman bade him pull of his clothes, and if he were her son, as she said she was sure he was, he had two moles upon his shoulder, pointing to the very part, which he owned he had, and showed them to her and all the company, and owned her for his own mother, and from that hour she came to herself and was cured of her madness.

THE "POPISH PLOT."

[This letter "needs no bush." It discloses the efforts of a very active party to convert England to Catholicism. It was written, probably, early in 1678. Father La Chaise, to whom it is addressed, was private Confessor to the King of France. Coleman was one of the persons denounced by Titus Oates. He was a convert from Protestantism, a busy intriguer in the pay of Barillon, and kept up a secret correspondence with the French Court.]

MR. COLEMAN TO FATHER LA CHAISE.

I SENT your reverence a tedious long letter on our 29th September, to inform you of the progress of our affairs for these two or three last years last past, having now again the opportunity of a very sure hand to convey this by. I have sent you a cypher, because our Parliament now drawing on, I may possibly have occasion to send something which you may be willing enough to know, and may be necessary for us that you should. When I may want the convenience of a messenger, when any thing occurs of more concern than ordinary, which may not be fit to be trusted even to a cypher alone, I will (to make such a thing more secure) write it in lemon between the lines of a letter, which shall have nothing in it visible, but what I care not who sees, but dried by a warm fire shall discover what is written. See that if the letter comes to your hands, and, upon drying it, anything appears more than before, you may be sure no body has seen it by the way. I will not trouble you with that way of writing but upon special occasions; then I will give you a hint to

direct you to look for it by concluding my visible letter with something of fire or burning, by which mark you may please to know that there is something underneath, and how my letter is to be used to find it out.

We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy which has domineered over a great part of the northern world a long time: there never were such hopes of success since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince who is become, I may say by miracle, jealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work; but the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can, for the harvest is great, and the labourers but few. That which we rely upon most, next to God Almighty's providence, and the favour of my master the Duke, is the mighty mind of his Most Christian Majesty, whose generous soul inclines him to great undertakings, which being managed by your reverence's piety and prudence will certainly make him look upon this as most suitable to himself, and best becoming his power and thoughts; so that I hope you will pardon me if I be very troublesome to you upon this occasion, from whom I expect the greatest help we can hope for. I must confess I think his Christian Majesty's temporal interest is so much attracted to that of his Royal Highness, which can never be considerable, but upon the growth and advancement of Catholic religion, that his ministers cannot give him better advice even in a political sense, abstracting from the considerations of the next world, than that of our blessed Lord, to seek first the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, that all other things may be added unto him. Yet

I know his Most Christian Majesty has more powerful motives suggested to him by his own devotion and your reverence's zeal for God's glory, to engage him to afford us the best help he can in our present circumstances, but we are a little unhappy in this, that we cannot press his Majesty by his present minister here upon these latter arguments, which are most strong; but only upon the first; Monsieur Ruvigny's sense and ours differing very much upon them, though we agree perfectly upon the rest. And indeed though he be a very able man as to his Majesty's service in matters where religion is not concerned, yet I believe it were much more happy considering the post he is in, that his temper were of such a sort that we might deal clearly with him throughout, and not be forced to stop short in a discourse of consequence, and leave the most material part out because we know it will shock his particular opinion, and so perhaps meet with dislike and opposition though never so necessary to the main concern.

I am afraid we shall find too much reason for this complaint this next session of Parliament; for had we had one here from his Most Excellent Majesty, who had taken the whole business to heart, and who would have represented the state of our case truly as it is to his Majesty, I do not doubt but his Most Excellent Majesty would have engaged himself further in the affair than at present I fear he has done, and by his approbation have given such counsels as have been offered his Royal Highness by those few Catholics who have access to him, and who are bent to serve him, and advance Catholic religion with all their might, more credit with his Royal Highness than I fear they have found, and have assisted them also with his purse, as far as 100,000 crowns, or some such sum, which to him is very inconsiderable, but would have been to them of greater use than can be

imagined, towards gaining others to help them, or at least not to oppose them. If we had been so happy as to have had his Most Excellent Majesty with us to this degree, I would have answered with my life for such success this session as would have put the interest of Catholic religion, his Royal Highness, and his Most Christian Majesty out of all danger for the time to come. But wanting those helps of recommending those necessary counsels which have been given his Royal Highness in such manner as to make him think them worth his accepting, and fit to govern himself by, and of those advantages which a little money, well managed, would have gained, as I am afraid we shall not be much better at the end of this session than we are now, I pray God we do not lose ground. By my next, which will be ere long, I shall be able to tell your reverence more particularly what we are like to expect. In the mean time I most humbly beg your holy prayers for all our undertakings, and that you will be pleased to honour me so far as to esteem me what I am, entirely and without any reserve,

Mon très reverend père, de votre Roi,

Le plus humble, plus obeissant serviteur,

COLEMAN.

FOR OUR VERY GOOD LORD, THE EARL OF DANBY, LORD HIGH TREASURER, AND LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE CITY OF YORK, AND COUNTY OF THE SAME, AND OF THE WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

AFTER Our very hearty commendations to your lordship: Whereas information hath been given upon oath touching a dangerous conspiracy against the life of his Sacred Majesty, and in consequence thereof, of great disturbance

that must ensue in the kingdom, We do therefore, in pursuance of his Majesty's command, hereby pray and require your lordship to use the most effectual means that in your wisdom you shall think fit, to cause all the habitations of the Papists, in that county and city, or of those who are reputed Papists, to be searched for arms of war and offence, and that all such arms be gathered and laid up in safe custody; and your lordship is to send diligently to this Board an account of all such arms, and of the parties disarmed, that so, as the occasion shall require, your lordship may receive our further orders in this behalf. And so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From the Council Chamber in Whitehall, the 30th day of September, 1678.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

FINCH, C.,

ANGLESEY,	BATHE,
CARBERRY,	C. CRAVEN,
LAUDERDALE,	N. DURESME,
H. COVENTRY,	G. CARTERET,
J. ERNLE,	ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

September 30th, 1678.

OFFICERS APPOINTED FOR THE POPISH GOVERNMENT BY THE JESUITICAL PARTY.—30TH SEPTEMBER, 1678.

LORD BELLASIS, General; Lord Powis, Treasurer; Lord Arundel of Wardour, Chancellor; Major-General Lambert, Adjutant-General; Lord Stafford, Paymaster; Lord Peters, Lieutenant-General; Sir Francis Ratcliff, Lieutenant-General; Counsellor Langhorne, Attorney-General; Colonel Lascelles to have a regiment; Mr. Roper, a regiment; Lord

Baltimore, a regiment; Collier, a Benedictine monk, to be Bishop of London; Whitebread, to be Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir William Godolphin, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Coleman, Secretary of State; Mr. Winter, Mr. Roper, Mr. Ratcliff, Mr. Madburne, Mr. Parry, Mr. Garrett, Captains; Sir George Wakeman, Doctor of the Army, who hath received, as it is made, 5000*l.* in gold to poison the King, and a promise of 10,000*l.* more when the business was done.

Officers of the Roman party in Ireland are:—Lord Talbot as General; Peter Temple to be Archbishop of Dublin, and as the pay-officer of our sea-service, and to be employed about shipping none but Frenchmen.

This came last post. Several lords are committed to the Tower.

LIST OF NAMES MR. BEDDOW HATH DISCOVERED CONCERNED IN THE LATE POPISH CONSPIRACY.—7TH NOVEMBER, 1678.

THE Lord Carrington; Lord Brudenell; Sir George Winter; Sir Francis Radcliffe, and his two sons; Lord Powis; Sir Francis Mannock, two sons, and kinsman; Mr. Ralph Sheldon, and his steward; Mr. Griffin; Mr. Henry Tichbourne; Mr. Timbleley; Dr. Moor; Daniel Arthur, an eminent merchant in London (who was to have furnished 20,000*l.* towards carrying on the design); Sir John Gage; Mr. Marvell; Mr. Carrill; Mr. Vaughan's son; Mr. James Hamilton; Mr. Speedwich, Governor of Chepstow castle; and George Beaumont.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE REST OF THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS OF THE WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

[For his Majesty's especial service, These.]

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I herewith send you inclosed the commands I have received from his Majesty by the Lords of the Council, and do recommend the same to your care to be duly executed. In order to it I desire you will appoint a meeting among yourselves as soon as may be, and I can give you no additional instruction by which to govern yourselves in this affair, saving that what arms shall be taken in pursuance of this order, I desire you will cause to be conveyed to Clifford's Tower at York, and to be delivered into the custody of my Lord Frescheville, or the chief officer upon the place, taking a note under his hand for the receipt of them. I desire you will from time to time make me a return of your proceedings herein, that I may be enabled to give their Lordships a particular satisfactory account in the matter expected from me. I am,

My lord and gentlemen,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

Danby.

Cockpit, October 3, 1678.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX, SIR JOHN KAYE, BART., JOHN RAMSDEN, ESQ., AND THE REST OF THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS OF THE WEST RIDING, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant, and have consulted Mr. Attorney General upon that point mentioned therein, of the necessity of a common officer to assist the constable, and his opinion is clear that that clause in the statute is where a search is made by the authority of the lord-lieutenant, or two deputy-lieutenants, of their own suspicion; but where the warrant is from the King's privy council upon an extraordinary occasion, the search may be legally made by the constable or tithingman, without a commissioned officer. However, that your lordship may constitute such officers (if you please to trouble yourself with the command), I have sent your lordship a commission for colonel, together with some blank commissions for such under officers as you shall appoint. I have given Sir Thomas Slingsby the necessary commission for his regiment, and have sent those for my own regiment to Sir Ralph Knight. I intend to divide the whole into four regiments, and desire your opinions what may be the best division of them. I shall also, within a little while, dispose of the horse, but do first desire to be truly informed what their number will be. In the meantime I hope this will serve to put in execution the present commands of the council, and I desire I may receive as speedy an account of it as is possible.

I am, my lords and gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

Danby.

London, October 19th, 1678.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD HENRY FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

My Lord,

I humbly beg your lordship's pardon that I have no sooner returned you my thanks for the honour of your letter, upon the receipt of which I went to Sir Henry Goodricke, who told me he had received the papers which I told him I had a hint from your lordship to inquire after, and he tells me he delivered them to my Lord Treasurer, and so consequently you may guess what is become of them. I have not heard anything farther about them; but to return your lordship news for news. The murder of Godfrey is now fully discovered by one Prance, a silversmith, in Princes' Street, Covent Garden; the fact was done in Somerset House by himself and five others: to wit, Garnet, a priest; Kelly, said to be an Irishman; Green, an under officer in the Queen's Chapel; Hill, an ale-house keeper in Stanhope Street; and Reney, the porter of Somerset House. The relation now at large you may please to command from my wife. The King has ordered a special commission of Oyer and Terminer for the speedy trial of those that are taken; to wit, Green, Reney, and Hill. There is also another witness come in for the plot against his Majesty, one Dugdale, a Staffordshire man, who speaks plainly against my Lord Stafford. I will give your lordship no farther trouble at present, but humbly kiss my lady's hands, and am, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Will. Palmes.

London, the 28th October, 1678.

The Captain is your humble servant. I pray take no notice to Sir Henry Goodricke, &c., of my free expressions to your lordship, which I hope will go no farther.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE, THESE.

My Lord,

I have been with Captain Sherrard, and acknowledged satisfaction upon your judgment. I likewise spoke to Mr. Pudsey to take his advice about proceeding for the obtaining the hangings for your lordship, who desires your lordship or my lady to write to my lord duke or my lady, and it would then certainly be done. I shall not proceed further therein till I have your further instructions about it, and if you please to send your letter to me, I will not only deliver it, but press the obtaining your lordship's desire therein; though I am confident there will not be any such occasion, but that there will immediately be order for the delivering thereof. I do imagine your lordship has had an account of Mr. Coleman's letters writ to the French King's confessor, to give him an account of two or three years' transactions in this kingdom, and proposing wages for reformation of religion, and accomplishing the design of this plot: he was before the Lords on Tuesday last, but would discover little. He declares there is enough known to condemn him, but he cannot reveal so much as will save him, and concludes himself unfortunate thereby (which I cannot but join with him in opinion in that particular). Staley, the goldsmith's son, was tried to-day at the King's Bench, and condemned. Coleman is reported to come to trial on Saturday, and also Atkins, who was one concerned in the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey. The Earl of Shaftesbury promotes the prosecution of this business and secluding the Catholic lords from sitting in the House very vigorously.

Mr. Spalding, who was Baron Thorpe's nephew, and now governor of Chepstow Castle, is suspected to be deeply concerned in this conspiracy, and I fear the Lord Bellasis is more than ordinarily engaged in it. There is a proclamation come out to-day for apprehending all Popish priests and Jesuits, with a promise of 20*l.* reward to any that shall apprehend any one of them. Yesterday was an order of the Commons to make an address to the King to issue out his proclamation, with a promise of a reward and pardon to any that should make a further discovery of this plot. It was yesterday reported the constable and lieutenant of the Tower were displaced, but I cannot find it warranted. Secretary Williams being committed to the Tower for granting commissions to Irish Papists, was on Tuesday released by the King's special command, but the Commons not taking notice thereof, ordered an address to be made, to show the reasons of his commitment, and to desire he might not be discharged, but I cannot understand what answer he gave them to it. A letter of Coleman's, writ in cyphers, was shown to him, but he would not read it. What further commands you please to give me, be pleased to direct them to Gray's Inn, for,

My lord,

Your honour's most humble,

And obliged servant,

JA. BABINGTON.

Gray's Inn, 20th November, 1678.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

My Lord,

I have dispatched that affair by Mr. Andrew Burton, which person you will find named in the warrant for taking out the judgment; he has had a warrant from me to take it off from the file; my hand and seal is at the warrant; Mr. Palmes, a witness, and my servant. Your son, Mr. Fairfax, did see it delivered as my act and deed; the reason I did not employ Mr. Baggington was that he would not come near me. My attorney doth assure me that the business is done. Pray, my lord, at your leisure, you will be pleased to pay my son Bennet 15*l.*, due to me upon the account you may remember; for what this is my daughter's money, that gives me the confidence to desire it. Now as to news. The discovery of this great affair goes slowly on; where it sticks, God Almighty knows. Staley, the goldsmith, was this day hanged, drawn, and quartered; to-morrow Mr. Coleman, the Duchess of York's secretary, comes to his trial. There are about fifty priests and jesuits in gaol; the eight lords in the Tower are prisoners at large; the Lord Berkshire, a Papist, is gone for France, which is something wondered at; and many more things. God in heaven bless his Majesty with long life.

Your lordship's

Most affectionate humble servant to command,

Phill. Sherard.

November 26th, 1678.

THE MURDER OF SIR EDMONDSBURY GODFREY.

[Francis Caryll was one of the persons who was accused (wrongfully, if the deposition which follows may be relied upon, and it certainly looks like truth,) of participation in the "Popish plot" of Titus Oates. The story is well known. Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey was the magistrate before whom the informations of Tonge and Oates were sworn. Soon afterwards Sir Edmondsbury was missed from his house for five days, and at the end of that time his body was found in a ditch near Primrose Hill, with his own sword run through it, his pockets turned inside out, and a dark mark round his neck, as if in addition to being run through he had also been strangled. His body was exposed in the public streets for two days, and large rewards were offered for the apprehension of the murderers, who were never discovered, but persons were executed for the crime who declared their innocence to the last. Francis Caryll, it seems, had a very narrow escape. The murder of Sir Edmondsbury was assumed as conclusive proof of the existence of a "Popish plot." It was taken for granted that he was murdered by the Papists, a suspicion which was confirmed by the anagram of his name, out of which some ingenious individual formed the sentence, "I find murdered by rogues." His funeral was celebrated with extraordinary pomp. Seventy-two divines in full canonicals preceded the corpse, which was followed to the grave by thousands of persons of the highest rank and eminence. This deposition is from Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

THE DEPOSITION OF FRANCIS CARYLL CONCERNING HIS IMPRISONMENT.

The deponent was upon that day fortnight after Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey was murdered, waiting with his coach in Wood Street, and was at last called to the Half-

Moon Tavern in Cheapside, to attend on the Earl of Ardglass and some other gentlemen, whom he perceived were like to stay long, and it being twelve at night he was resolved to stay no longer for them; at which Mr. Fowler, the master of the said tavern, being angry, threatened this deponent that he would make him lie three months in prison if he would not stay; but this deponent, not regarding his threat, did the next day drive his coach that way, and waited some time at the same door. But at night, being on his way home at the bottom of Snow Hill, a certain person who had been watchman, met this deponent and advised him not to go home, for Captain Richardson and a great many persons were there to apprehend him about the death of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, and that therefore it would be best for him to keep some time out of the way; which notice, though it something terrified this deponent, he being apprehensive of what miseries he might suffer by imprisonment, yet his innocency overcame his fear; so that resigning himself to the protection of God, he drove home, where they to a great number, with Captain Richardson, the jailer of Newgate, awaited for him. These apprehending him, they carried him to Newgate by the instigation of the said Fowler as this deponent verily believes, and of another coachman who charged him falsely with certain words. There this deponent being examined by Richardson, whether he was a Papist or no, did declare he was not, and after many other questions, was by him that night put into the press-yard, where he might have starved with cold had not a certain poor barber, maliciously accused too, lent him a coat. The next day this deponent was with Captain Richardson carried to Wallingford House, where there was the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Lord Halifax, and another

lord unknown to this deponent, who gave this deponent his oath, and then examined him what he knew concerning Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey's death, to which this deponent answered that he knew nothing concerning that matter but what was the common report. Then the Earl of Shaftesbury called him bloody-minded rogue, and threatened him with a cruel death, by being rolled down a hill in a barrel of nails; but the Duke of Buckingham declared he should not be so long a-dying, for he would run him (this deponent) through presently; and so, first striking him and calling him bloody rogue and dog, he then drew his sword and ran it several times at this deponent's breast, but seemed to be prevailed with by the Earl of Shaftesbury not to kill him presently, but to preserve him alive for some more cruel death. Then the Earl of Shaftesbury, saying it was time to go to Parliament, whispered Richardson in the ear and sent him back, having first menaced this deponent with the certainty of death: and in answer to the several protestations of this deponent of his innocency, he replied, Which was to be believed, such a murdering villain as this deponent, or a man of such credit as Mr. Fowler? Then this deponent was carried back to Newgate, and laid in a thing like a trough, in some place in the press-room, and there, with something laid upon him, he was in horrid torment kept for the space of three hours; the pain whereof, together with the expectation of certain death, almost stupified this deponent, so that being at last taken out and put into a coach by Captain Richardson, he fainted away, so that they were forced, with brandy and some other things poured down this deponent's throat, to fetch him to life again: which, when they had, he was by them carried to the house of the Marquis of Winchester, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where the aforesaid lords

again were. There they brought forth a gentleman, very fine, unknown to this deponent, who said this deponent was the man who took up the body of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, in Somerset House. Then they told him that if he would confess that certain persons had hired him to take up the body there, he should have his pardon and 500*l.*, showing him a bag of gold: and if he was afraid of the parties he was to accuse, he should be lodged safe there, and have his wife with him, and a guard to secure him. To all which, when the deponent declared he knew nothing of the business, nor would accuse anybody of a thing so false, they then with new threats and reproaches thought to affright this deponent, as he verily believes; for the Earl of Shaftesbury bid him consider what a sad hearing it would be when the judge should say, "Take him away and hang him," to which this deponent replied, it would be a sadder to hear God say, "Take him, devil, he has forsworn himself." So, after much more than this the deponent can remember, he was taken back to Newgate, and there in the hall kept from Thursday until Sunday, without any sustenance, loaded with heavier irons than he is able to carry on his back in full strength, and chained down to the ground in the night to strong staples, and forced from extreme drought to drink his own urine; in this misery denied the admission of his wife to bring him necessaries, she being, as she is ready to depose, threatened by Captain Richardson for attempting to do it. At length, after four days' fasting from everything but his own urine, he was suffered to have something conveyed to him, but was kept in the dungeon, without bed or straw to lie on, for six weeks, and forced to wear chains that eat holes in his legs, having no friend suffered to speak to him, but given out by the jailer to be a madman, that nobody that

passed by might believe his lamentable complaints. Thus, after having been a third time examined and affrighted by the lords at Westminster, telling him he should be hanged, and having been by them (as the time before) called hardened Papist, dog, and bloody villain, and by the Duke of Buckingham hove by the hair, buffeted, and pricked in the breast with his sword, because he would not charge himself and other persons with so horrid a fact of which he was wholly ignorant, and after having in the depth of winter suffered all the torments and miseries aforesaid, and many more too long to be named, during thirteen weeks' imprisonment in Newgate, he was permitted to give bail; and this deponent, notwithstanding his innocency, as is apparent by the trials of the persons that have suffered for that fact, yet continues under bail,and is daily threatened and abused by several malicious persons to his face, and, as he is informed, particularly by Mr. Fowler, who, as this deponent hath been told, threatens him with thirteen years' after his thirteen weeks' imprisonment, which threats and reports, together with the infirmity of his body, and extreme poverty occasioned by his said imprisonment, has reduced this deponent to a deplorable condition, not knowing where in the world to apply for relief.

This I am ready to depose upon my oath when required.

FRANCIS CARYLL.

Witnesses present at the signing of this.

THO. CURTIS,

JOHN WOODMAN.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RELATION TOUCHING THE CALUMNIES OF LORD HATTON AGAINST SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

About the midst of the month of September, 1651, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, being one day at Sir Richard Browne's house towards the evening, and walking with him, his wife and daughter in the great room, upon occasion of speech of my Lord Hatton, Sir Richard Browne complaining of his calumnies in his reports of his being a Presbyterian, and particularly of the truth of what he was taxed to have said to the Prince of Condé's secretary; Mr. Dean of Peterborough replied, that my Lord Hatton could say a great deal more how that Sir Richard Browne had showed so much zeal to the Presbyterian cause in the earnest delivery of those papers to the King, which Mons. Herault directed to his Majesty (the day after the said M. Herault went from Beauvais), that the King was so offended with him that he affronted him at the delivery of the papers, and threw them in his face; to which Sir Richard Browne made answer that that was as great an untruth as could be said, and that he would take the Sacrament upon it that the King expressed no such passion, but only bid him deliver the papers to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and that to Sir Richard Browne's best memory, the papers never came into the King's hands at all, but that he told the King of such papers, holding them in his own hand, and desired his Majesty that he would think fit to let them be put into Sir Edward Nicholas' hands as Mons. Herault's former papers had been.

Hereupon Sir Richard Browne took the first occasion to write to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to desire him to inform

him truly of what he could call to mind concerning the delivery of those papers to the King, and how the said papers came into his hands, whereupon Mr. Secretary Nicholas returned these ensuing letters and extracts:—

Extract of Mr. Secretary Nicholas' Letter to Sir Richard Browne, dated at Antwerp, 19th (29th) Sept. 1651.

As concerning Mons. Herault's papers, as far as I can call to mind, you gave them to me after you said you had acquainted his Majesty with the same, which was (I think) at Beauvais; and I never heard his Majesty ever express any the least indignation either against the papers or the person that sent them: but when at Breda, I asked his Majesty what he would have done thereupon; he commanded me to send a copy of them to Mr. Dean Stuart (who was then at Jersey), which accordingly I did, and wrote to him as his Majesty commanded me, and Mr. Dean can best tell you the effect thereof. This is all I can possibly call to mind of that business.

Postscript.—You may assure those that informed you that the King expressed such indignation against Mons. Herault and his papers, as to throw the same at his feet, that his Majesty is not at all subject to such passions, but of a singular and exemplary moderation.

Extract of Mr. Secretary Nicholas' Letter to Sir Richard Browne, dated at the Hague, 8th (18th) October, 1651.

I have (as you desired) herein sent you a letter open, to Mr. Dean Cosins, which, if it be to your mind, be pleased to seal and present to him. I think you shall do

well not to be troubled at the vain reports of any that shall, from the performance of your duty in presenting of Mons. Fontaine's proposition, endeavour to infer you are affected to that hypocritical profession of religion called Presbytery. If you had refused to have presented the same or to have conveyed it to his Majesty, you may be sure those that sent it would have put it into some other hand to have done it, which probably might have been much more for their advantage. Those who cast aspersions on you for that action will do themselves most wrong.

Copy of Mr. Secretary Nicholas' Letter to Mr. Dean of Peterborough, 8th (18th) October, 1651.

Mr. Dean,

Having received a letter from Mr. Richard Browne, desiring me to advertise you what I know concerning his transmitting of Mr. Fontaine's fond proposition to the King, wherein I may not, for truth's sake, but affirm that he was (for aught I know or could possibly discern,) merely instrumental; and if he had in any measure been affected to it, he might, as he knew well, have put it into hands that would have sooner and more advanced it than myself. But indeed I must bear him witness that he was very industrious that it should not (as far as he could help it) come through any other hands than mine to his Majesty, who being made acquainted with it, commanded me to send the same to Mr. Dean Stuart (then at Jersey) to consider of it, and to advise what was fit to be done upon it. Though his Majesty did not to me seem to like it at all, yet he did not express so much passion against it when it was presented to him, as care that it should be fully answered; wherein his Majesty expressed much piety and prudence, the proposition itself being (as

Mr. Dean Stuart can tell you,) very vain, to say no otherwise of it. I was very glad of this occasion to present my affectionate service to you, being very really and truly, sir,

Your most humble servant,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Upon Wednesday the 25th of October, Sir Richard Browne delivered the forementioned letter to Mr. Dean Cosins, who the Friday following showed it to my Lord Hatton, and that afternoon came to Sir Richard Browne into his study (where his wife and daughter then were), and in their presence told him that he had been with my Lord Hatton, and showed him Mr. Secretary Nicholas's letter. That my Lord Hatton made slight of it; that he did not value what Mr. Secretary Nicholas could say concerning the delivery of the papers to the King, because he was not then present, but that he (the Lord Hatton) was sure that with his own eyes he saw the King, not indeed out of any anger or to affront Sir Richard Browne, but indignation to the papers, which Herault writ in the ale-house, throw them down at his feet, and that this he would maintain whensoever he saw the King. All which Sir Richard Browne did then aver, and doth still affirm, to be as great an untruth as can be said, and that to his certain knowledge the King did not throw those papers at his feet, nor express any anger to Sir Richard Browne, or indignation against the papers.*

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

THOMAS TICKELL, THE POET.

[Thomas Tickell, who had recommended himself to Addison by some complimentary verses on the opera of Rosamond, held the office of under-secretary during Addison's administration, and continued in office under his successor, Mr. Craggs. He was afterwards secretary to the Lords Justices in Ireland, and died in 1740. This letter is from Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

Sir,

Mr. Secretary Addison being indisposed, has commanded me to acknowledge your letter of May 28th, to which he will return an answer as soon as he has his Majesty's commands upon the particulars mentioned in it.

You will have heard from your correspondents on this side the disputes amongst the Whigs in parliament, which, in some matters of little importance, seemed to turn against the court, by reason of the absence of several members and the nature of some trivial questions which were a surprise upon the House of Commons. But in the late great struggle about my Lord Cadogan, the discontented Whigs, assisted by the whole body of the Tories, had the mortification to lose their aim, and it is not doubted but the majority now declared on one side, will receive daily accessions from such as are willing always to be with the majority. The present expectations are about my Lord Oxford's trial appointed to be on Thursday next by the Lords: but the Committee of Secrecy not having yet made their report of the present state of the evidence, I cannot yet give you any guesses of the event. I take this liberty to give you the news most talked of even before I have your commands to that purpose. When I shall have that honour, there is no service which I shall not do

you with all possible pleasure and diligence. I have the honour to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THO. TICKELL.

Whitehall, June 11th, 1717.

I must beg that any news I shall send you may not be quoted as coming from me.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON.

[The son of the Chancellor. He was Lord Privy Seal in the first year of James II., and resigned in the following year. Upon the Revolution, he withdrew altogether from public life.]

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO WILLIAM LOWNDES, ESQ.

SIR,

THOUGH I do not doubt of your kindness in this very great difficulty I am under, yet I must beg leave to acquaint you with the melancholy story I had from my poor house yesterday. My timber is cut down, and I do expect to hear, within a week, that the house is pulling down to sell the materials; it had been begun before this time, but that they did not agree about the value of them, which I am satisfied will soon be agreed. The timber cannot now be preserved, but the pulling down the house may be yet prevented by my Lord Treasurer's favour; let me entreat you therefore to beseech my lord, for God's sake, to move the Queen in my behalf. His lordship knows I can apply to her Majesty no way but through him; and I cannot but believe, if the Queen knew how small a sum would preserve this poor house, she would have the compassion to afford it me, especially since my Lord Treasurer may do it in what

way he pleaseth, as you know I have proposed. I would fain wait on my lord myself, having other things to speak to him of, if I might be admitted; but I have not been able to obtain access, though I have endeavoured it by all means for above these six months, and sometimes when I was not very well able to do it, upon the account of my health, which, I thank God, is at present better. I beg you to do what you can for me, and as soon as you can, for you see how the time pincheth me.

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

CLARENDON.*

May 14th, 1709.

TITUS OATES.

[This infamous person, who upon his first disclosures was rewarded with a pension of 1200*l.* a year, and lodged for safety at Whitehall, and afterwards, on the accession of James II., indicted for perjury, sentenced to the pillory five times, and whipped from Aldgate to Newgate and from thence to Tyburn, was carried into public favour again at the Revolution by the current of religious prejudices, and rewarded by a pension of 1000*l.*, which he lived to enjoy till 1705. Here we find him in confidential communication with the Duke of Bolton! This curious letter is from Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

TITUS OATES TO THE DUKE OF BOLTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I TOLD your Grace in my last, that Huy was besieged: I am assured that Sir Cloudesly Shovel did dispatch one Masters to Ostend for pilots in order to conduct the fleet to

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Dunkirk; this Masters upon his arrival at Ostend, dispatching his business for which he was sent, and hearing that the camp was not far off, went to the camp, found that news was come to the King that Huy was surrendered into the hands of the confederates, and of this he wrote Sir Henry Goodrick an account; and further saith, that when the King saw him, he asked him his business: he answered that he was sent over by Sir Cloudesly Shovel for pilots; the King told him there were not pilots there, which was item enough for our friend Masters to hasten his return to the Downs.

Mareschal Noailles sent to Tourville to come out with the fleet in order to his besieging of Barcelona, which Tourville told him he durst not, because of the greatness of Admiral Russell's fleet, and then Noailles resolved to block up Barcelona by land; but Russell landed 3000 men at Barcelona, which made that design to be laid aside and Noailles to withdraw further from that place.

Letters from Prince Lewis say that several entire regiments are come over to him from D'Lorge's camp.

Some think that the King hath an eye upon Dunkirk.

Several traitors will be brought to trial on Monday, the 10th instant.

The Irish Lord, Kingston, and his brother, are pardoned for their rebellion in Ireland.

Warwick is consumed by fire which began in a flax-shop in that town.

The escape of Parker lies at the Lord Lucas's door.

I am

Your Grace's humble servant,

TITUS OATES.

September 8th, 1694.

JOHN COSINS.

[Dean Cosins, afterwards Bishop of Durham, so frequently alluded to by Evelyn in his Diary, was the father of the writer of the following letter. The Dean was accused by the Parliament of being favourable to the Roman Catholic doctrines, and on that ground deprived of his livings; but the practice of his whole life proved that the charge was false. Retiring to France in 1643, he officiated for seventeen years in the Chapel of the Embassy at Paris, where he strictly observed the form of worship of the English Protestant Church. At the Restoration he was restored to his benefices, and presented to the see of Durham.

His son, who wrote this letter of explanation to Evelyn, embraced the Roman Catholic faith at the age of twenty-six; an act for which he paid the penalty of disinheritance. Evelyn's letter to the proselyte, alluded to in the succeeding communication from Dean Cosins, was no doubt an answer to this exculpatory appeal, and is probably the same letter which Evelyn tells us he was urged to publish, but which he did not think it "convenient" to do, "for fear of displeasing her Majesty the Queen." (*Diary*, I. 263). Dean Cosins says that the King desired its suppression for the same reason.

For all these letters to and from Evelyn we are indebted to Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

DR. JOHN COSINS TO MR. EVELYN.

Dear Mr. Evelyn,

I have been told that upon the news of my conversion to the Catholic faith, and of my retirement thereupon, it hath been given out amongst divers that I have been inveigled by the priests of our nation, allured by fair promises to desert my former religion, and now by them

detained in such restraint, as not to be permitted to converse with, or to repair unto any friends. Hence some have proceeded to exclaim, What a barbarous and unconscionable thing it is, to separate a son from his father, and to encourage him in this act of disobedience against him. Weak refuges these, alas! to defend themselves; much weaker arguments to reduce me from where I am. I beseech you, therefore, to know, and also to let others know, that I cannot but esteem this report as a foul aspersion cast upon myself; and I make bold upon this occasion to beg this favour of you, confiding to the candid and uninterested ingenuity that I have found in you, that you will afford it me, seeing it is only to assist me to manifest the truth, without prejudice to any.

Surely I have neither so much debility and weakness in my capacity; so little understanding, constancy, and resolution; so much of the child, nor so little of the man, as to be fooled into another religion by fair words, or be kept in it by threats. What I have done I assure you is wholly voluntary; not violently forced, not foolishly persuaded, not drawn, except I may be said to be sweetly drawn, which I willingly confess, by the powerful hand of Almighty God, whose infinite goodness hath been pleased to strengthen my heart, after some years of reluctancy, to embrace His faith; and hath also given me a firm and solid resolution, as I hope, never to deviate from His right ways. Believe me, sir, these desires of mine were not first conceived nor discovered in France, (I mean, very privately to or by some friends of mine, Catholics, in secret discourse, which was sometimes my own desire to consent myself;) I have had them in some degree a longer time, though I deferred the execution of them until now, not so much to satisfy a discontented world

that I did not with temerity resolve, as out of a private and eager apprehension that I might, if any where, meet here in Paris with clear satisfaction. *Hæc amor et majora velit.*

When I had sought here for this quiet to my troubled mind with all the diligence I could possibly use, without discovering myself to any, (which I must confess I durst not do, on one side; and on the other side, as yet, I would not,) neither in this way could I find any repose; what had I to do but to extricate myself from the labyrinth of those ambiguities which had caused me to doubt, which I did privately too, by hearing the public disputations of the reverend fathers of many several religious houses and orders, and other scholars; by reading some manuscripts dictated by the learned doctors of the Sorbonne; by frequenting their lectures, in which truth was so clear and solid, so evident, so perspicuous and convincing, that in my opinion no man was able to resist it:

> ———— potius fugientia ripas
> Flumina divincat; rapidis aut ignibus distet.

Where is there yet any barbarism in our priests? Is it for keeping constant to their integrity of conscience? or, that I have turned not to those priests only, but to the Father of those priests, (whose ministers they are), my Saviour—χριστος, ο ποιμην και επισκοπος των ψυχων? or is it for rejoicing at the conversion of a sinner, which is the joy of the blessed angels in heaven? Though, sir, their wisdom and piety, their love of God in Christ, (for which they daily bear the cross of most opprobrious contumelies with great joy, patience, and long suffering,) doth carry them so transcendently above the noise of the world, that they need not, nor desire not, to have me assert them, or any else; yet out of an honest gratitude to their pious obligations (whom I

have had the happiness to converse withal,) I cannot choose but vindicate their goodness and integrity, their innocence and piety, from these slanderous indignities, and heinous false aspersions (especially in this case) which without just indignation I cannot see so maliciously cast upon them.

But I am separated, they say, from my dear father, and remain in actual disobedience to his commands. If I be separated, that separation proceeds not from the instigation of any priest living. They have done no more than with joy received me into the Church of God, of which office they are not ashamed, or if they were, I should join myself to their present detractors and make their quarrel just.

If I obey not his commands, it is because I cannot hear them, and that is caused by my absence. Sir, it is not so new a thing for children to absent themselves, for some time, out of their parents' sight, when they have done any thing, though never so justly, which may seem to displease them. My design was to have discovered the business unto him in the best manner, and I believe I had done so, had not my resolutions been unexpectedly discovered, and I too suddenly surprised.

Believe me, sir, my absence proceedeth rather from the duty I confess to owe unto my dear father, than any disrespect; and if I esteemed it otherwise, I would rather have suffered much more than I could have expected, than to have withdrawn myself from him.

Had I not been assured the Catholic doctrine did not enjoin the payment of children's obedience and duty to their parents, I assure you it would have been a point that should have given me great distaste. And surely the grace of God cannot diminish our pious and natural affections, since it is the complement and perfection of all virtues. But herein I

hope to give due satisfaction to the world, when at last Time (which is *edax rerum*) shall first digest all fears and disorders, and then rectify the understanding.

In the meanwhile, sir, I desire to give men this satisfaction, that I am free; and to forgive them their own freedom, in talking so dissolutely of my restraint.

Why should people so much concern themselves, as to slander so ignominiously (I will not say barbarously) innocent men on my behalf, if my desires of privacy be (as they are for aught they know,) out of a serious devotion to get into the Church as much as I can, apprehending the danger I was in, in being so long out of it?

This freedom, sir, I have taken with you, as well to quell those vulgar outcries, as to have a right understanding amongst us. Or if, after the trouble of reading these tedious lines, you will not take the trouble to communicate this for others' satisfaction, I hope yet I shall not quite lose my labour; but you will please to believe me yourself, in whose good opinion, as an ingenious and sober friend, I shall rest as content, as in that of the multitude.

I cannot be so confident as to think that any will receive a salutation from a disobedient; I shall therefore remit it awhile; and when this dark cloud is more dispersed and blown over that my candid innocence and integrity in this matter may appear, I shall take the boldness to present my service where it is due, though not with so much freedom and presumption, yet with the same honesty and heartiness in which I now say I am,

Dear sir,

Your most faithful and affectionate, &c.

JOHN COSINS.

December 18*th*, 1651.

DEAN COSINS TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

If it had not been our preparation here the last week for Easter, I should have presented your letter, with my thanks for the kind visit that you gave my daughter, whereof she had given me notice the week before. Your advice and assistance in the disposing of her books will, I hope, make her journey to C——— more pleasant to her than otherwise it would have been. If those half-dozen that your brother hath scored be not such as will dismember any class and hinder the sale of the rest which belong unto it, she shall not do amiss to part with them. But for them that you have a mind to yourself, (and I would for her sake, and for your own too, you had a mind to them all, especially to the Fathers, and to the history both ecclesiastical and secular, whereof you will upon every occasion find great use,) I dare promise that she shall give your own convenient times of payment for such moneys as you agree upon, and that her demands for that agreement will be very reasonable. Truly if you would be pleased to furnish yourself with those classes which were chosen and designed by, you know whom, for Mr. St. (who intends not to make the use of a good library that you are both desirous and able to do), rather than they should be distracted elsewhere, it will be left for her to take your payments proportionably by several years as you can best spare the money; for I would you might have as much ease in the payment as I know you will have pleasure in the books.

I am sorry you find such confusion in religion and such intemperance in life where you are; but as neither of them

is pleasing to you (whom I have ever noted to be virtuous, orderly, and conscientious in all your ways), so it pleases me highly when you can number so many, 7000, that make more esteem of their knees and their souls together, than to bow them down to Baal.

I never entertained any suggestions against my daughter, who I am confident hath more of God in her, than ever to be carried away with such devil's temptations as have seduced and undone her brother, against whom (but that I would feign forget him), I can hardly hold here from expressing a very great indignation. The excellent letter that you addressed to him, I presented to his Majesty's view (and I presented your excuse withal for not coming to him before you went), for whom the copy of it was prepared; and every way it was highly pleasing to him, as he read it; but when I told him that it was my intention to publish it, though he wished it done, yet he thought it were better for a while to spare it (*rebus sic stantibus*) for fear of displeasing his mother the Queen, who had been pleased to interest herself in that matter.

I meet often with the good company of those persons that you left behind you in your lodgings, and my daughter's confidant is preparing to come towards you; but in good truth I am very sorry that I must lose the benefit and pleasure of your good society, which was always most acceptable to

Your affectionate and most humble servant,

J. Cosins.

April 3rd, 1652.

THOMAS BARLOW TO MR. EVELYN.

[Dr. Barlow, Provost of Queen's College, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.]

Sir,

I have received, by the hands of my ingenuous friends, Mr. Pett and Mr. Needham, those choice pieces which you were pleased so generously and charitably to give to Bodley's Library, and so increase our store, though with a diminution of your own. Having no possibility to requite this your kindness and munificence to the public, (beneficia tua indigne æstimat, qui de reddendo cogitat), I have sent this little paper-messenger to acknowledge our obligation, and bring our heartfelt thanks. I am glad I have got your name into our Register, amongst those noble and public souls which have been our best benefactors; and I hope it will be no dishonour to you, when posterity shall there read your name and charity. I know you have goodness enough to pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent scribble. God Almighty bless you, and all those more generous and charitable souls who dare love learning, and be good in bad times. This is, and shall be, the prayer of,

Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

Thomas Barlow.

Queen's College, Oxon, March 17th, 1654.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE TO MR. EVELYN.

Dear Son,

Your letter of the 15th September came to my hands four or five days since. Notwithstanding the very rainy weather, I have perambulated the Rue St. Jacques, and other streets where booksellers live, but cannot possibly find your Benedictine Curtius: some I have met with who knew the book, and say it is a folio of a competent bigness. As soon as the weather and my leisure permits, you shall have the account you desire of our Paille-mailles, which are here only these—viz., the Thuilleries, the Palais Royal, and the Arsenal, all which I will pace and take the distance of the arc by the English foot, &c., and study all means possible to advance the laudable and profitable design, which, through the veil, I easily discourse, and applaud to be yours. Your news of my little grandson not a little mortified me; but I am since somewhat revived by a letter I two days since received from my kinsman (whom I so much esteem), dated at your house. I pray God bless and continue him unto you, that he may make use of a small token which I had provided for him by the advice of your most elegantly translated Chrysostom. I pray present my service to that my noble cousin, and tell him that I yesterday delivered, with my own hand, his letter to his grand friend, who received it with much cheerfulness. Of the effects whereof, as to him and myself, he shall, ere long, have a further account. You will here inclosed receive two letters, the one for Mr. Edisbury, the other for Mr. Harrison (my old Merton College friend and acquaintance). When you have perused both, I pray seal and send them; let no post be put on that

for Mr. Harrison. That for Mr. Edisbury you may do well to consult Mr. Robert Russell, ship-chandler, at the Half Moon, in Tower-street,—who, as the young man tells me, knows best how to convey it; and therefore my opinion is, that, acquainting him with the contents, you commit to him, and from him require the answer. If you add thereunto a civil line or two to the father, I think you will not do amiss. I pray use the best means you can for hastening hither the answer; in this there will be charity as well as friendship. The lace you sent was again thought to be lost. But now Mr. Bear's correspondent tells me the stray shallop is arrived in which they think it was embarked. I pray let me know what it cost, and whether you ever received a box, sent in the trunk by Mr. Buy with my cousin's things; wherein were divers acorns de chesine vert, &c. I am now at last to lament the departure of this honest gentleman, and congratulate your happiness in his acception. The rivers gain on one side what the opposite bank of the current loseth. Besides this letter, I have troubled him with the conveyance of some trifles,—viz., a bag of peach and nectarine stones of this last season.

The four chronological tables you desired, (which when I sought wherein to make them up, a parcel of the several finest sorts of marbled paper, which I had lying by me, coming across my hands) I put into that folio volume, conceiving you, for your books, or your wife in trimming some cabinet, might perhaps put it to better use than a sluggish insignificant posture, as it was with me; lastly, a book for my grandson, of which, I trust in God, I may live to receive one day a cheerful account from him, under your auspicious instruction; his mother shall be remembered with something particularly another time; at present, my

best blessing will not, I hope, be an unacceptable token. In God's name, live cheerfully, and enjoy with pleasure His heavenly indulgences, which are to you more than ordinary. Above all things, avoid those cares which trench upon distrust of His providence, and follow the Wise Man's counsel as to the things of this life. You are not likely to be overburdened with children; but, in all events, the good actions of your erudite brain will render you co-equal to this ball of earth, and perpetuate your memory to its conflagration (or, according to some, vitrification). God give us all grace so to live as that that day may blessedly consummate our inchoative happiness and perfection. So prays,

Your ever loving father to serve you,

RICHARD BROWNE.

Paris, 29*th September*, 1659.

LORD CORNBURY TO MR. EVELYN.

[Lord Cornbury, afterwards Henry, Earl of Clarendon.]

THE King finds great fault with this air; says he hath not his health, and neither sleeps nor eats well, and truly, though he goes up and down, he is not well; and I believe (though he will not remove to Oxford till the beginning of October, to keep that town clear as long as may be,) that he will make some hunting journey somewhere or other, to see what that will do, and leave the Queen here.

I have been once at Dinton with my father, and at Sir John Evelyn's, the only journeys of pleasure I have been able to make. I have not yet been in Clarendon. Now I am to be here, I would advise you to go to Cornbury, where

you are sure to avoid being troubled with me. The Parliament meets at Oxford the 9th October; I am very glad we are like to see you then, and I assure you it will not be possible for you to avoid my importunity there. I beseech you present my most humble service to my lady: you remember your promise; I hope that when we meet again I am to be acquainted with her. Sir J. Clifford is gone into Denmark upon occasion of this last business at Norway. The French ambassadors told the King on Thursday that Monsieur de Vendôme and the Pope were dead, but they contradicted both again yesterday.

Our good bishop here is much better than I have known him a great while; God continue him so; there is need enough of him; he hath invited the Queen to a collation on Tuesday next. The duke and duchess are hugely feasted and entertained in the North, and are so pleased, that they care not for removing; but they will be at Oxford. The last bill of mortality was a sad one, and hath frightened us all; I pray God make us as sensible of his judgments as we ought to be. We are all here very well, but have been sometimes alarmed with this sickness, and two days since there was a house shut up in Castle-street, which makes us much afraid. I must needs tell you that our whole family are extremely happy in my sister-in-law; there lives not a better creature; and hitherto all is very well (you know what I mean,) which pleaseth me more than you can imagine. I beseech you present my most humble service to Mr. Secretary and my lady, and your brother; and now it is time to make some apology for this long tedious letter; but lest that should be yet more impertinent, it is better to let it alone; besides, I am afraid I have already lost the opportunity of sending this in your servant's packet this post. Let me beg

you to continue your kindness to me, and believe that I am always,

Your most affectionate and most faithful servant,

H. Cornbury.

September, 1665.

LORD CORNBURY TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

I may well blush to take pen in my hand to write to you after so long a silence. You have too much reason to be for ever out of charity with me, after the great rudeness I have committed in never thanking you for your letters. I do not now go about to extenuate my fault; all I can say, had I all the art and eloquence I could wish for, could not excuse me. But, according to the old and truest principle, it is never too late to mend; and, therefore, I have resolved at last to ask your pardon, and say all I can in my defence, though it be very little. While I was at Salisbury I knew not how to write to you; and when I came hither and met with Sir R. Browne, he put me in hopes for a good while together of seeing you here; and though I had written a long scribble to you, I chose rather to forbear sending it, than to give you the trouble both of that, and as tedious a discourse when we met. It is now too late to tell you how sensible I was of the sadness of your condition you represented to me in the summer, and of the endeavours I used with my father to give you ease, who was as much troubled and ashamed of it as yourself, and did his utmost to relieve you, though you could not find it in so great a measure as he desired. I do not trouble you with an account

how I have spent my time since I saw you; that is to be reserved till we meet, and will not then please you, it having all been to so little purpose, and not to the least good. I would here tell you many woeful stories, but they are not fit for a letter. We begin to be very apprehensive (I pray God, we be rightly sensible) of the plague increasing again. What will become of the nation, if God's always miraculous mercy do not protect us? Methinks I see nothing but horror and confusion round about me; and yet, I am sorry to say it, we are contriving ways to make us merry. Oh—but I forget what I am doing. I do not trouble you with any foreign news, because you see all in the Oxford Gazette, and all that I could say would be but repetitions. The Court is now going into mourning for the Queen-Mother of France.

Though the sickness have put a stop to all things, yet I hope at last we shall have the translations in print; when we meet I will show you more of the same kind. If you had not more important affairs upon your hands, you should have been dragged ere this by importunity to Cornbury, to finish the work you have begun, whither I go now and then upon a Saturday; my little boy there, and that place, are too many enjoyments at this time, when one ought not to indulge one's self. I cannot tell you how to admiration things go on there; we have this year planted near 2000 trees.* I wish I could contrive some business, though never so inconvenient, to bring you hither: you see how malicious I am.

When we meet, I shall quarrel with you for believing a report you mentioned to me in your letter, of my being married. I hope time hath convinced you there was no such

* Evelyn assisted at the planting of the park at Cornbury a few months before.—See *Diary*, I., 366.

thing like to be; if not, I will try what I can do. At present I will only say, that I would not have any of my friends conceive so ill an opinion of me; and yet, I will presume to say, no man living hath a higher esteem of mariage, nor of the other sex, than I have; and so much for this subject at this time. I have now troubled you enough; and were it not for trying you with impertinences, I could have spun this into a far larger volume. I beseech you to believe that I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

H. Cornbury.

Oxford, 17th January, 1665. [*N. S.* 1666.]

LORD CORNBURY TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

I give you many thanks for your favour of the 20th, and do confess you have reason to reproach me for not answering your letters, but I told you in my last I would not trouble you nor myself with excuses; it is better ingenuously to confess a fault, than to disguise it by acts. What I may do when I have lost more time than I have already done (if it be not a little slandering my occupation) in the conversation I have been used to these last six months, I know not, but as yet I am not arrived to the dexterity of making artificial apologies. Were all my time as well spent as when I am reading your letters, I should have but little to answer for, but as I have already told you, I shall give you no satisfaction on that point when you call me to an account; the best which I can say for myself is, that it 's not altogether my own fault. I am extremely glad you are so well pleased

with our new house; your letter hath hugely satisfied my father; he means very shortly to call upon you, for your advice about his garden, and let me beg you to remember evergreens (in my opinion) the greatest beauty that can be. Mr. May (who you know governs at Cornbury) hath made a design for a very convenient house there, and splendid enough, which will be begun this spring; and then we shall be very commodious both in town and country, though, perhaps, too much envied. You will now have good company near you; the King and duke will be at Hampton Court on Saturday next; my father will be the same day at Twickenham; the Queen and duchess stay here till the King resolves what is fit for them to do. I remain here, but hope we shall all join speedily, now there is so blessed a decrease of the sickness: God make us thankful for it. I suppose you have already heard the message the King of France sent our Queen Mother by Mr. de Lionne, that he could no longer forbear falling out with our King, therefore I need not repeat it to you. Other foreign news we have none but what you find in the Oxford Gazette, which I hope pleaseth you better than Mr. Lestrange's two sheets. There is one little particular I cannot avoid telling you, of an invention the gazetteer of Amsterdam hath found out to get money; he doth weekly reprint the Gazette of Paris, which you know is excellent language, only with this alteration, that he spells all the words just as they are pronounced in common discourse; which at the first view doth almost make it a new language. Pray give me your opinion of it; I am afraid, instead of purifying, it will rather corrupt it; I am told it is that the academy of Paris would never consent to; and methinks it is a bold thing for a Dutchman to attempt the correcting any tongue, much more the French. I am in hope

some of the wits of France will fall upon him for it; however he is to be applauded for his ingenuity. I have now wearied you sufficiently, and will therefore add no more, but that I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

H. Cornbury.

Oxford, this 24th Jan., 1665. [*N. S.* 1666.]

SIR. R. MORAY TO MR. EVELYN.

[It is strange that no allusion to the writer of this letter is to be found in Evelyn's Diary, although Evelyn and Sir Robert Moray were intimate friends, and constantly associated in the early labours of the Royal Society. Sir Robert was the first President of the Royal Society, and a devoted Royalist from the commencement of the Civil War. In 1646 he contrived a plan for the escape of the King, whom he was to conduct in disguise to a vessel which lay at Tynemouth to receive him. The King put on his disguise, and went down the back stairs of Moray's house, hoping to pass the guards in safety; but, wavering in his resolution, he went back again, and so the plan was never put into execution. Sir Robert contributed a great number of communications to the Society, some of which, in common with most of the offerings of the early members, are more remarkable for credulity and superstition than scientific investigation.]

My very worthy Friend,

By what telescope you read me at this distance I do not know; but till by your letter of the 13th December I learnt that you are acquainted with my most illegible parts, I should hardly have suspected it. It seems you conclude me to be a greater master in another sort of philosophy than

in that which is the business of the Royal Society. For if you were not confident I can govern the whole brood of my passions, as well, at least, as Bankes did his horse, you would not have adventured to stir up so many of the fiercest of them at once. This I incline the rather to believe, because I know you value my friendship, and would not kindle a flame that might blow it up. Therefore, instead of flying out like lightning upon the wanton and tempting language by which you assault my humility, my sobriety, my ingenuity, and my unconcernedness, exciting me to pride, vanity, ambition, and affectation, I do but smile upon the liberty of your pen, and commend the pretty texture of your ingenious words; and only comprise the design of all to be to express quaintly your kindness in desiring I may be where you are. And my return to that is, that were I at mine own disposal, I would be as willing as you would have me, to confine myself to that little world that goes under the name of Saye's Court, and there not court the most courted glories of our terrestrial planet; nay, not envy those that inhabit the nobler one that illuminates the rest, if any such people there be. And then if the two luminaries that keep up a perpetual spring in that rich place did but shine propitiously on such an obscure guest, what sublunary thing would be wanting to complete the felicity of,

My very much honoured friend,

Your faithful humble servant,

R. Moray.

Yesterday, 14*th Jan.*, 1667. [*N. S.* 1668.]

MR. N. JAMESON TO MR. EVELYN.

HONOURED SIR,

THE delight I take in planting of trees and flowers hath often prompted unto me some little thoughts and designs concerning the raising of mulberries, which thoughts have been very much heightened and animated by the reading of some part of your most ingenious and excellent "Discourse of Forest Trees." But by all the inquiry I could hitherto make by my friends about London for some seed of the white kind, which your book treats of, I have not hitherto been so happy as to procure any, nor indeed to meet with those who ever heard of any such mulberry or seed. Now, loth I was to give over my design, and as loth to be presumptuous, yet at length those thoughts, to which you gave life, urged me to apply unto yourself as their most proper patron and nourisher; and in their behalf, I humbly beg that you would be pleased to give me some directions, how, or by whom, such seed as I desire may be obtained. Worthy sir, you possibly may admire at my boldness, and I do not endeavour to excuse it, only it ought to be considered, that it is not likely that such persons as yourself should come so publicly abroad, without getting much bold acquaintance; but not to add a second trespass by my tediousness, if this my confidence be thought worthy of a line or two in answer, be pleased to direct it to be left with Mr. Allestry, bookseller, at the Rose and Crown, in St. Paul's Churchyard, for Mr. Thomas Jameson, minister of God's word at Hackney, near London, who will take care to send it to,

Your humble servant and real honourer,

Credwell, Wiltshire, April 11th, 1670. N. JAMESON.

MR. EVELYN TO MR. JAMESON.

Sir,

The encomium you are pleased to bestow upon the trifle which I sent lately abroad could not be so welcome to me as a capacity to serve you in the seeds you desire, or any thing else that was in my power; but I neither am master of any of those plants (I mean of the white mulberry) nor of the seeds. But for my best directions therein, since you name Mr. Allestry, I cannot pitch upon a person who is more likely to serve you than he, because I suppose he has frequent correspondence both at Paris and Lyons (which is near to Avignon), and other parts of France where it is very easy to procure it, especially by the address mentioned in my book to Mons. Isnard, who is governor of the Royal Works at Paris, and who doubtless will be most ready to gratify any gentleman who desires his assistance. If this, sir, should not succeed, I do not question but I may be able to serve you in some proportion by a friend of mine, who goes in September next to the farther parts of France (where these trees grow in infinite abundance) and returns before Christmas, which will be time enough for the next spring, which I think to be the most agreeable season. Sir, I am heartily sorry I am not capable to serve you at present, and the rather because you express so much affection to an inclination so becoming gentlemen. I have seen the tree thrive equally in our climate, and if persons of quality and that had leisure and faculties, would resolve to encourage the culture of a few stocks, I still persist it would infinitely recompense the pains, and prove of great emolument to

the whole nation; but I entertain you too long with the impertinence of,

Sir, &c.,

JOHN EVELYN.

Saye's Court, 12th May, 1670.

FROM THE COUNTESS OF CLARENDON TO MR. JOHN EVELYN.

SIR,

As if I were not unhappy enough in being incapable to pay back the tribute I owe you from the public storehouse you have enriched the world with, or my particular obligations, my own ungrateful garden denies me any help, but like an unconstant friend that I have served many years with great faithfulness, now I am able to wait upon it, it no longer disowns me; and of all the great number of tulips which I thought I might boast of, my gardener did not take up one this year, which I cannot suffer to be called unskilfulness but negligence; yet truth is, my plants are so shuffled about, that I must dig as for lost treasure before I can find them, but when they next show themselves I will go make them a visit, to secure some for you; in the meantime I have sent you some calamus roots to set in your moat, and sweet willows to plant upon the banks of it. I have received some jonquils and other bulbous roots from Marseilles, which came with a great parcel for the King; a part of them I have now sent you, and if there come from them anything extraordinary, I entreat that the King may see the flowers, because he has entrusted me with the management of all his parcel; but I fear they will discredit me with his Majesty, and that I shall want your countenance to assure him

that they are as nature made them, and have received no prejudice from, sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

F. CLARENDON.

Somerset House, Oct. 22nd, 1680.

My humble service entreat Mrs. Evelyn and the rest of your family. I hope it is near the time that you will be a grandfather, and pray for all the happiness you can propose in being so.

MR. ROBERT BERKELEY TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

So much kindness, and so undeserved, would not have suffered me thus long to have been silent; had not our late catastrophe so confined my thoughts, as not immediately to recollect my obligations to my friends, particularly to yourself; but as I was sending this to kiss your hands, I had an account of the sad news of your daughter's death, which has given too great an addition to my trouble, not to be with passion concerned for you, knowing your loss to be irreparable; so great is my apprehension, as if Providence would not suffer such perfect happiness on earth to be possessed without alloy proportionate to render your enjoyments in the next world, answerable to those which you have received in this. How great must they there be, and what are we to expect who come so far short of your deserts. Dear Mr. Evelyn, none of us are here exempt from the greatest sorrows, and the highest disappointments, which I shall hereafter more steadfastly look upon as a mark of the Almighty's favour, since so great exemplars of virtue as Mr. Evelyn and his lady both have been in our age, are so excessively afflicted. I pray God

give so entire a resignation to his will, that you may have yet greater contentment than you have hitherto found. Sir, it is my great unhappiness that I cannot pay my duty to you as I would, in condoling with you at Saye's Court, and the more I think of Mr. Evelyn, the more I am perplexed in the consideration of a fatal necessity in depriving me of one of my greatest satisfactions in your dear company, which a nearer distance would make me happy in. Sir, if the entreaties of a friend, can enforce the resolves of so great a philosopher, suffer me amongst the number of yours, to use what arguments I may, to mitigate the extremity of your sorrow; I shall only, with due submission, offer these.—If any person deservedly may be allowed to be perfectly happy in himself, whether or no, he is not abstracted from such notions as are common to sense? In the exterior, likewise, if that party possesses more continued blessings than possibly any other does enjoy, may he complain without ingratitude? If not, then dear Mr. Evelyn is really happy still, and makes many others so, whilst your health is not denied you; which I pray God preserve, and to the rest of your worthy family. Sir, though unseasonably, be pleased to receive my humble thanks for your intended favour of a copy of the paper, which I have a great curiosity to see from your recommendation. But there is nothing more welcome than the hopes of your honouring our poor villa with your presence (which I receive from my cousin Packer), except the fruition of your dear company. But in this I fear I too greatly flatter myself, from what I covet most—next is your correspondence, in which you highly oblige, sir,

Your most obedient and devoted servant,

ROBERT BERKELEY.

Speechley, March 21*st*, 1684. [*N. S.* 1685.]

MR. ROBERT BERKELEY TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

Amongst the number of your friends there 's none more heartily congratulates the late honour you have received in his Majesty's service, which must be to the great satisfaction of all that are so happy as to be known to Mr. Evelyn; and renew our hopes of the prosperity of the Court you live in. Nothing more conducing thereunto than the conduct and integrity of good and able ministers. But I wish that your necessary attendance may not hinder or divert you from finishing your grand design, which you were pleased to show me,—in which you 'll have future ages indebted to you, as well as oblige the present, and raise up a monument to your perpetual memory. This may seem like compliment from one that bears so real a respect towards you; yet when I consider how useful (though elaborate) this work will be, and that 'tis not in the power of any other to perfect it, I must confess 'tis a most pressing motive to persuade you to it. Pardon me, sir, for pressing, in my repeated desires, the most ingenious Mr. Evelyn, though for a public good. I was in hopes to have waited on you before this time, or I had not this long deferred my acknowledgment of your last letter (which I have sometimes perused with resignation), where I see all the felicity of this world reduced within the compass of our own breast, and there resolved how all happiness consists with our own agreeable temper fitted to receive it. I often wish you were here to correct my plantations, which I allow in nothing to be so well as when I fancy some little part of them to seem like yours. I confess I was always a lover of gardening, by reason I find in it a constant

expectation of something that's new, without the remorse which most if not all the pleasures of this life are mixed with. And in this diversion I have here, at my poor villa, for some time entertained myself, buried, as 'twere, in oblivion of my friends, till I found myself living in your works, which are celebrated, not only in your own country, but in those parts where I have observed the most curious in their plantations and gardens. And the daily experience of this age does certify the universal benefit you have done mankind, in discovering to us several secrets in the mystery of that art, which, before, we were altogether ignorant of. Give me leave, among many others, worthy sir, to admire you in your garden, whilst you are raising those cedars which will eternise your memory. There we may see a most pleasant verdure in the midst of winter, and the most curious plants constantly preserved in their natural vigour, and all the variety of nature in a perpetual spring. And if there's a paradise here on earth, doubtless you enjoy it with your Flora, who excels not only in those qualities which render a rural life most agreeable, but in most other virtues and ornaments of her sex.

I am now upon making a conservatory, something in imitation of yours, but with this addition, having on each side of it wings, in the manner as you see in our casks where we keep our Indian plants, that are to open to give air or sun, and rain to those least tender, as there is occasion; which, with your most ingenious stove, that in a great measure supplies a natural heat, I hope will produce all that this climate is capable of, in favour of our greens, and of the orange tree in particular, which, of all others, is the most beautiful. My wife, with me, give our most humble service to yourself, and your most excellent lady, of whom she often

expresses her resentments, as the most accomplished of her sex. And in reality, whilst you both live, I do not see how it is possible for you to be otherwise than the most happy. May long life attend this extraordinary blessing, coming from God alone, with future health and prosperity to your family, are the prayers of,

Sir,

Your most obliged and most faithful devoted servant,

R. Berkeley.

Speechley.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will believe I am as really concerned in all that befalls you, as any friend you have; though your daughter had forfeited a great share of your kindness, yet I know you are so tender a father, that you cannot but be grieved extremely for her death; but both yourself and lady (whose affliction must be the same with yours) can administer more comfort to yourselves by your exemplary piety, than can be suggested to you by me. If it had been in my power, I would have waited on you myself at this time, but this good lady Juke can tell you how full of business I am, which will hinder me from visiting you till after my return from Windsor the next week; and in the meantime I beg you to believe I will never fail you in any real friendship while I live; if your trouble can give you leave to make a step to town to-morrow, I would be very glad to see you, having something to say to you, of some concern for you to know, but if you send me word that you cannot come, I will tell it you by letter. My wife presents her service to you and your excellent lady, and

does bear a very particular share in your afflictions, as she would tell you herself, but in good earnest she is far from being well. I am, with very great esteem,

Sir,

Your truly affectionate humble servant,

CLARENDON.

Whitehall, Sept. 2nd, 1685.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

[In the June of 1690, Lord Clarendon, Pepys, and others were sent to the Gate House on suspicion of being affected to King James. Evelyn bailed him. He was afterwards lodged in the Tower, where Evelyn dined with him several times. At the date of the following letter he had been released and home again.]

SIR,

MY stay in town was so short, after my release, that I had not an opportunity of thanking you for your great kindness; and therefore I endeavour to do it this way, and beg you to believe that I will always remember and acknowledge it. I should take it for a very great favour, if you would take a journey hither. The flying coach goes to Oxford in a day, all this month, and if you will let me know when you will be there, I will meet you with my coach. The plantation pretends to be one of your eldest children, and therefore claims some sort of your care; it was designed by yourself, and the performance had once the approbation of your view. I have since, by little and little, and I may say not unsuccessfully, so far finished the whole, that I thank God I taste the benefit, as well as the pleasure of the work; and your presence would now give a blessing to all. Let me,

therefore, beg you to throw away a little of your precious time upon your friends at a place, where I hope you believe you shall be most really welcome. My wife joins with me in this request, with her most humble service, and we both beg to be remembered with perfect respect to your excellent lady. I beseech you to believe me to be with all possible esteem,

Sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

CLARENDON.

Cornbury, Sept. 3rd, 1690.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

I SHOULD sooner have returned you my thanks for yours of the 8th past, but that I thought it more respect to you not to trouble you with my dull lines. I am very sorry your occasions would not permit you to allow us the favour of your company. I verily believe you would have been pleased (if I may say so of myself) to have seen so prosperous a plantation as this is, made and carried on by your instructions; indeed, I have many things to brag of, and some which are not ordinary; and I bless God I can please myself perfectly well with the entertainments the place affords me. And I will not despair of seeing you here ere long, to give your advice for the finishing of some things, which I would be glad to do before I leave off; and 'tis almost time for me to think of that. I shall be in town towards the end of the next week, in order to make my appearance at the King's Bench bar, according to my obligation; and if I am so happy as to be discharged (which I pray for), I shall hasten hither

again, where I leave my wife and family; but I will be sure to find a way of seeing you before I leave the town.

My wife is your humble servant, and threatens you with the trouble of a letter. We both beg to be remembered most humbly to your excellent lady.

I am, with great esteem, sir,
Your most affectionate and humble servant,

CLARENDON.

Cornbury, Oct. 11*th*, 1690.

MR. JOHN BENEDE TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

SINCE the last account of the young lady's sickness left her so extremely ill as not to believe her out of danger, and that we could not possibly learn by any other way the present condition of her health, but by giving you this trouble, you will pardon the freedom that is taken in desiring a line or two from you in answer to this. Mr. Evelyn, your son, is wholly ignorant of the cause of your stay, and wonders he has not heard from you; we were in hopes that yesterday's paradise day would have tempted you to town by water, since the shaking of the coach is so inconvenient to the sick lady, who I believe would find greater ease by being here from the variety of company and the better advice that may be had, than from the most tender attendance and care of affectionate parents at Deptford. If you fear there may be
the coldness upon the water, I will take upon me amongst some of my acquaintance, to send down a litter, if the motion of that can be borne with, otherwise I should think the sending of a sedan in a boat would be better and the warmer way of the two. We are all impatient to hear the good news

of her recovery, and your speedy resolution for London, a happiness we shall all rejoice in, but none more than, sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

J. Benede.

October 25th, 1690.

The last night late arrived Colonel Fitzpatrick with the express from Kinsale, the new fort was surrendered upon honourable terms; marching out three regiments with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, with an article for the governor Sir Edward Scott to have a passport to be transported beyond sea, within any time during three months; they left great store and a 100 pieces of cannon. The Duke of Berwick with 1500 horse was upon the march with a design to relieve it, but Lieut.-General Ginckel having notice, had like to have been in the rear of them with 3000 horse and 1000 dragoons, of which they had notice and did return to Limerick, burning many villages, and the Lord Ossory's house, which cost but lately 40,000*l.* the building, and was the noblest palace of Ireland; the Duke of Berwick sent twice to Maxwell not to fire it, but could not prevail. The Duke of Grafton is certainly dead, has made his will by which the Lord Godolphin and Lord Lichfield are executors; the King continues his pension to the young Duke. To-morrow an ambassador from Portugal has audience of the King, which is an acknowledgment, and brings him into the Confederacy, and it is thought all the native princes will follow his example; the Turks now growing too powerful in Hungary, having taken Belgrade, Esseck, and it is feared Tekely has defeated Prince Louis of Baden; the not having made a peace when time served, is wholly imputed to the treachery of the Jesuits; the Breda, a third-rate ship lying in Kinsale road, having twenty-five prisoners of war, and many other pas-

sengers designing for England the next day, was by an unhappy accident blown up, all perishing but the captain, who cannot live, he is so bruised. The King goes next month for Holland.

DR. TENISON (BISHOP OF LINCOLN) TO MR. EVELYN.

[Dr. Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of the library at St. Martin's.]

Good Sir,

Yesterday I received yours, and was very glad to hear from a friend I so justly value, but I could wish I could have heard of your health too; God, I hope, will send it in his good time. Colds are in this town the common calamity. I am perfectly of your mind in relation to Mr. Bentley, and you may assure yourself I shall not swerve from my purpose. I will speak with Sir H. Ashurst and Sir J. Rotherham as soon as I can, and send you word of the time they think to meet, but I shall not conclude to meet with them to do the business till I hear you can conveniently come. Mr. Bentley was with me this evening; coming last night to town he brought the enclosed, and sends you his hearty service and thanks. I have been indisposed since Tuesday, but my cold does not wholly confine me, but I go the less abroad because I find all conversation almost to be complaint and discontent. God direct the King and Parliament to the best methods. My service to your good lady, your son and daughter. I hear great things of your grand-son from Eton.

I am, sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

Tho. Lincoln.

Saint Martin's Churchyard, November 4th, 1693.

DR. JOHN WILLIAMS TO MR. EVELYN.

HONOURED SIR,

I ESTEEM it as a particular mark of your friendship, that you are pleased to acquaint me with the report, which I perceive by yours is abroad, concerning my writing the Life of the Hon. Mr. Boyle; a report that there is no ground, but that there is some occasion for, through the mistake of what I said concerning the publishing anew those of his works which had heretofore been printed. The short story of which is this: About a month since I received a letter from Dr. Charles, Master of University College, Oxford; in which he told me that some of the works of Mr. Boyle having grown scarce, it had been advised that it would be of good use and be very acceptable to the learned, if there were a collection of all his works set forth together in folio; and that it was desired I would consider of it, and consult with the trustees or others, how it might be best accomplished. Toward the promoting of this I waited on my Lord of Canterbury, and in the next place, had done so on you, but that I thought you were out of town. In the meantime I lighted on Sir H. Ashurst in the street, and afterward waiting on him at his house, I told him of it, and withal that it would be convenient that some inquiry might be made of what might be found among his papers, fit for the press; and he promised me to advise with the Earl of Burlington about it. While I was there, came in Mr. Warr, and he very readily offered his service about the papers; this was the week before I came out of town, and farther we went not. So that all that could be said of a preface was presumption; and no more of that thought of, I believe, that what in cause might

be done by the Oxford gentlemen. As for my own part, I was so far from thinking of writing a Life (which I knew to be in the bishop's hands), that I thought not of so much as a preface. The design is worthy of a better pen, and what I have always thought a way of writing not without great difficulties. For he that will write a Life, if possible, should have had an intimate acquaintance with the person, and should know that of his air, his genius, and way, that can no more be wrote than he himself can be drawn by description only, and must be, if not intimate enough, yet led into all the particulars which you speak of by one that was inward with him. Now I had not the honour of anything like this, never having been in the company of that great man but once that I know of, many years hence; and which I afterward blamed myself for, having been encouraged by him to make an acquaintance there.

I am well pleased that at last it is likely to be done, and to be undertaken by one so well qualified for it as Mr. Wotton, to whom it being necessary to peruse his papers, he may at the same time promote the Oxford design by a farther collection.

When I return to town, which will be, God willing, about fourteen days hence, I shall wait on you. With my acknowledgments for your obliging letter to

Sir,

Your faithful and humble servant,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

Canterbury, —— 19*th*, 1696.

MR. JAMES QUIN TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

You receive this from one who is little known to you, but loves you much, as I do a lady who received me in your stead at Deptford, with the charms of a woman, and the beautiful strengths of a man, and the virtues of a Christian, and both with that love that becomes a Christian. Salute her, sir, in my name, and give her the best services of the worst of men, as well as the least.

The design, sir, is to enter into a correspondence with you and her, if the excellent, the much admired, lady pleases, on a full, perfect, and complete happiness, that is even, constant and vast, real and substantial, perfect and entire, wanting nothing but a finishing stroke from the hand of death, and its brightening shadows; of a happiness that depends neither on times, nor persons, nor places, that can live and thrive in the cottage, in a dungeon as in a garden, and almost as well in a garden as in a dungeon; desiring the correspondence may be secret, and confined by sacred bonds, within the sacred number. You shall court her for me, and for herself, for it is her happiness and her eternal life, and present her in my name, with the fairest present and the richest that I can make her accomplished and immortal soul.

On this subject which I have proposed, the angels entertain themselves, and think to one another, there is none greater or better, none more worthy of spirits and souls; and every other is a wasting and a crucifying impertinence, from which every one ought *cacher sa vie,* in the *fallentis semita vitæ;* not of a vain and miserable Horace, but of a Paul, who

having nothing, possessed all things, in the life hid with Christ in God.

I am with great sincerity, and respect, and love,

Honoured sir,

Your meanest friend and servant,

JAMES QUIN.

November 29th.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

I CANNOT enough condemn myself in being thus very backwards in making my acknowledgments to you, for the favour of both your letters, and for the great present you sent me of your excellent Book of Medals, which as all your works, do further adorn our country: it is great pity the printer has performed his part so ill, but that it was not in his power, with all his negligence, to spoil the sense, which everybody knows you are so much master of. My wife looks upon herself extremely obliged to you for the mention you make of her father and family, for which she hath made you her own acknowledgments, which you will perceive by the date, should have been with you long since, had not I kept it, that my thanks might not come behind hers, we being both equally obliged to you; if anything could make me fall out with so good a friend, and ancient acquaintance as yourself, it would be the mention you make of me in your book, so far beyond what I can deserve. If any of my trifles have been useful to you, I am very glad they were in my hands for that purpose; but I have not the vanity to think I can possess anything choice; and shall never desire to have my name in print, privacy being what I always most loved, and

now more than ever. But, sir, my obligations to you always increase, for which I can make you no return but my thanks; if I have anything in my small collections which may be useful to you in your other studies (for you are always employing your thoughts for the public), you have a right to what I have. I again ask your pardon for this late acknowledgment, which how late soever, is with all possible sincerity and sense of gratitude for all your civilities and kindness to myself and family. I beseech you to believe that I am with very great esteem, sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

CLARENDON.

April 19*th*, 1698.

I beg you will give my most humble service to your excellent lady.

W. NICHOLSON (AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF CARLISLE) TO MR. EVELYN.

HONOURED SIR,

IT has long been my custom to clear accounts (as far as I am able) with all my creditors on the first day of every new year. Where I am non-solvent, I make an honest acknowledgment; and that's my case with you. Give me leave, therefore, to make this return of my humble thanks for the kind letter I had from you last week; and to let you know (since you are pleased to invite me to it) I am very ready to run farther on the score with you. Your MS. Life of St. Cuthbert is (I perceive) the legend written by R. Hegge, who was Fellow of Corpus Christi, where that treatise was deposited. There is indeed a very faulty copy of it

printed, and I have often endeavoured to procure a transcript from the author's original, but in vain. You generously offer this; and my brother will wait on you for it, and convey it to me. If I live to publish my History of the Saxon Northumberland, I shall pay a grateful respect to my benefactor.

I am troubled to hear of Mr. Pepys' indisposition. I heartily wish his recovery, and the continuance of his restored health.

When I was a servant to Mr. Secretary Williamson (above twenty years ago) I often waited on him at his house in Westminster, but I was then, as I still am, too inconsiderable to be remembered by him. Besides an account of the author (if known) of his MS. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, I very much desire to know whether there be any valuable matters relating to the History of Scotland amongst Sir R. Maitland's collections of Scotch Poems. I observe, that in the same volume with Balfour's Practiques (or Reports as we call them) he has a manuscript of the old Sea-law of Scotland. I would beg to be informed whether this last treatise be not the same with the Leges Portuum, which (though quoted by Sir John Skene, under that Latin title) is written in the Scotch language, and is only a list of the customs of goods imported and exported. If I may (through your kind intercession) have the favour of transcribing anything for my purpose out of his library, I have a young kinsman (a clerk to Mr. Musgrave at the Tower) who will wait on him to that purpose.

Suffer me now, sir, to own another obligation to you (wherein I am a sharer with the public) for your Acetaria, which, with submission, I think you have miscalled an appendix to your Calendarium. You give it the precedence,

and very justly, in your royal plan; the several chapters whereof I shall much long to see published; for, though an ingenious countryman of mine, Mr. Baker, seems dissatisfied with Mr. Wotton's making agriculture and gardening parts of liberal knowledge, I am as much an admirer of all the branches of natural as civil history; and the former has as many of my spare hours in the summer as the latter has in the winter. There is one passage, page 65, wherein I think myself nearly concerned to request your farther information. The French *acetosella*, with the round leaf, grows, you say, plentifully in the north of England. You distinguish this from the Roman *oxalis*, wherewith Dr. Morison had made our *acetosa Eboracensis*, as he calls it, to be nearly of a kind; but Mr. Ray has rightly observed that ours is not Caspar Bauhinus's *rotundifolia hortensis*, which is the same with the Roman *oxalis*, but his *scutata repens*. Besides this, I know of no kind of sorrel that is so peculiar to the Northern parts of this kingdom as your expression seems to intimate, nor can this, which is no trefoil, be reckoned amongst any of the *acetosellæ*.

You will pardon this impertinence in,

Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

WILL. NICHOLSON.

March 25th, 1700.

MR. EVELYN TO ———.

Sir,

Though I am so long before I discharge my debts, yet that you may not conclude me unmindful of your commands, and that only Mr. Pepys' indisposition hindered me from sooner giving you an account of them, this is to acquaint you with what he returns to your inquiries, which I choose to give you under his own hand.

I am now upon the wing for my summer residence at Wotton in Surrey, where your further commands will reach,

Sir, your most humble servant,

J. E.

As to what you mention concerning the sorrel, perhaps I did not so well to call it the Fr. *acetosella,* in regard of the leaf. But does not Mr. Ray somewhere, both in his Catalogue and his later Synopsis, seem to make that which is found in Cumberland and the Northern parts distinct from the Roman by the deliquium in the leaf, however resembling it, when translated into a richer mould?

In the meantime, I must acknowledge I had this from the misinformation of another, and I wish there may not occur many more considerable errors in that trifle of mine, and that I might receive your so friendly animadversion both on that and my Sylva, and it would very much oblige,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

Since this I received yours of the 9th of May.

DR. JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

[Dr. Fell, author and editor of numerous works connected with divinity and classical literature, was a munificent benefactor to Oxford; bestowed upon his college of Christ Church some of its rectories, and bequeathed to it at his death no less than ten exhibitions. He and his friend, Dr. Allestry (whose portrait is preserved at the University), are said to have written all the works attributed to the anonymous author of "The Whole Duty of Man."

The following letters are from Mr. Bentley's Collection. Who the Bishop's correspondent was we have no means of ascertaining; the date also is matter of conjecture, but it must have been after 1676, when Dr. Fell was advanced to the Bishopric of Oxford. He died in 1686. The subject is curious. It seems that the gentleman whose ire the Bishop sought to subdue was intent upon bringing an action for breach of promise of marriage against a lady who violated her engagement to him in favour of one Sir John Morley. The Bishop urges upon him the higher triumph of Christian forgiveness over legal satisfaction, and the gentleman is ready to adopt that view of the case if the Bishop will use his influence to induce the lady to make a suitable apology to him. The Bishop appears to great advantage in this little correspondence as a gentleman and a Christian.]

DR. JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, TO WM. G———L.

Sir,

Having the favour of your letter, wherein you are pleased to own yourself to be obliged by an opinion of mine, which had no prospect but to declare an honest truth, and to avert from a deliberately chosen sin, a person who had long preserved a reputation of virtue; I am concerned to

acknowledge your undeserved civility, and must not think my interposition altogether frustrate, since it satisfies you, though it had no effect on her for whose use it was intended. I laid before the unhappy lady the aggravation of a wilful sin, which involves a defiance of Almighty God and his commands, and which, in the present case, cuts off all possibility of future reparation, and consequently the ordinary means of repentance and forgiveness. Be pleased now to give me leave to recommend to you an act of generous charity, that you would have compassion for a soul that had no regard for itself, and by acquitting your interest as far as 'tis possible, put an end to perpetual guilt. I know you have been ill dealt with, but for that very reason I propose this to you, it being the peculiar mastery of our holy Christian profession to overcome evil with good. You may gratify passion by exposing an offender to shame, and the expense and trouble of the law; but the pleasure of forgiving will be infinitely more permanent and truly delicious. I am sure I have no temporal motive for what I say, having by plain dealing lost all manner of interest in the person for whom I intercede. You will be pleased to pardon this rude address to you from a stranger, who can plead no other merit than his belief of your propensity to do the best things that can be laid before you, and his desire that you should actually perform them. Recommending you to the blessing and guidance of Almighty God,

I remain, sir,

Your most faithful servant,

Jo. Oxon.

December 1*st.*

WILLIAM GL——— TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

My Lord,

No man can think me guilty of compliment or flattery in saying that your lordship abundantly merits the esteem of the whole world, when I have in my hands so clear an evidence of your lordship's exemplary goodness and piety; wherein how much your lordship excels most men, is known to all that see your life, and hear your doctrine. Your answer, my lord, to those few lines which were never intended to give your lordship any trouble, is an honour wherewith I had no reason to expect or hope your lordship would have so highly obliged me. I shall therefore preserve your lordship's letter as carefully, though not so superstitiously, as Romish priests keep reliques, because it is not only a testimony of your favour and civility to me, but also a demonstration of your lordship's justice and mercy; the one manifested in condemning a wilful offence, the other in soliciting with so much compassion a pardon for the guilty offender. But good, my lord, how can you intercede for a faithless woman, who hath dealt so treacherously with her faithful friend, her constant lover, and in the sight of God, her betrothed husband; a woman, who though conscious, is so far from acknowledging her fault, that she justifies her falsehood, and instead of repenting her breach of faith, thinks me beneath her asking forgiveness. Indeed, Mr. L. in his last passage to London, came hither and declared his mother had sent him to tell me she desired my friendship, and to ask me what satisfaction I expected from her; this put me upon desiring Mr. L. to tell me truly whether his mother were

actually married. No, said he, not yet I am sure, because when I parted from my mother, she did solemnly swear to me that she would not marry in my absence, till I came back from London to give her; and yet, my lord, contrary to her solemn promise whereby she stood obliged to make me her husband, and contrary to her oath voluntarily made to her son, she within five days after he left her makes herself Sir William Morley's wife: so that I humbly entreat your lordship to consider whether in the present case it be not as necessary for your lordship to press my Lady Morley to repentance and reparation, as to persuade me to pity and pardon. You are not ignorant, my lord, how difficult a task it is for flesh and blood patiently to bear and forgive the greatest indignities and affronts that can be offered to human nature. I do not think our holy Christian profession requires us absolutely to forgive those insufferable injuries, wherein the obstinate wrong-doer impenitently persists. But yet, my lord, to show my ready obedience and submission to your powerful mediation, I do faithfully promise your lordship that I will never by any legal prosecution expose the woman to shame for whom your lordship is so pious an advocate, provided she will by some real evidence of true repentance convince me that she is unfeignedly sorry for the wrong she hath done me. Though she cannot recall her crime, yet it is still in her power to extenuate her guilt, which her own conscience, unless it be seared, tells her she ought to do; when she hath done what is her duty, I will religiously perform my promise to your lordship, hoping thereby to secure myself the continuance of your lordship's favour, and the increase of that good opinion your lordship seems to have conceived of

Your lordship's most obedient and obliged servant,

WILLIAM GL———.

WILLIAM PENN.

[The writer of this letter was the founder of Pennsylvania, in South America. He was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, and according to Anthony Wood, the "Lord appeared to him in his twelfth year, as he was alone in his chamber at Chigwell, in Essex, where he was at school. He was suddenly surprised with an inward comfort, and an external glory in the room," and soon afterwards withdrew from the Established Church, and became a Quaker. How he distinguished himself amongst the people whose form of worship he embraced is well known.

In consideration of the services of his father, and of debts due to him by the Crown, Charles the Second granted Mr. Penn a tract of land on the River Delaware, of which, by letters patent, Penn and his family were made proprietors and governors. In 1782, accompanied by many persons, he embarked for Pennsylvania, and planned the town of Philadelphia. In 1784 he returned to England, and in 1785 he brought to a conclusion a long-standing difference he had with Lord Baltimore respecting the right to a certain territory in the three lower counties of the Delaware. During this period, it is presumed, the annexed letter was addressed to Lord Fairfax.

It is a curious incident in the life of Penn, that at the time of the Revolution he was suspected of being a papist and Jesuit, and was twice examined before the Privy Council, obliged to give security for his appearance, and suspended from his right of appointing a governor to Pennsylvania until he had cleared himself of the charge. In 1690, a proclamation was issued for his apprehension, along with Lord Henry Bellasis, Sir T. Oglethorpe, and others, and he narrowly escaped being taken on his return from George Fox's funeral. After that time he lay in concealment for two or three years, and it

was not till 1693 that he was able to establish his innocence. He died in 1718, at Rushcomb, in Buckinghamshire, in his seventy-fourth year.]

WILLIAM PENN TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

HONOURABLE FRIEND,

MY time will not I hope be long in town, and I would be glad to see some issue of your long depending affair. The time set, not observed, nor any fresh appointed, nor any account when we should meet, has an air of neglect from my wonted guests and solicitors; that is not like the treatment I have ever had in business from the greatest; and I know nobody can remedy this but the honour and authority of the Lord Fairfax, for whom I have all imaginable regards, because I am, with great sincerity,

His very faithful and respectful friend,

WM. PENN.

NARRATIVE OF MR. HARRISON.

[The following curious personal narrative, illustrative of the vicissitudes of the Civil War, is reprinted from a rare Tract.]

The Humble Petition, or Representation of Mr. William Harrison, Gentleman and Soldier, to his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, Captain General of the Forces raised for the King and Parliament.

MAY it please Your Excellency to understand, that the true cause which made me for a while to discontinue my service in your regiment, was upon notice given me that one Mr. Marriot had got an execution forth against me, who about four years since did violently draw his sword upon me, and I gave back a little, and drew mine to defend myself. It was my fortune to wound him, and I could have killed him, but I closed with him to disarm him, at what time one Gadson, a keeper ran in, and laid hold of my hair, whereupon I was inforced to defend myself and to draw my knife, and did cut one in the face, and the other's fingers, and had got them both down, and disarmed them; for which the Committee of Northampton kept me in prison seven months and thirteen days without bail; but having got my liberty by the means of Sir Rowland St. John, and other gentlemen that were my friends, I presently bought a brace of geldings, and came to your Excellency's regiment, to Captain Laurence his troop, where I and my man did service above a twelve month, until I heard my enemy Mr. Marriot, a man of an implacable spirit, who sued me in the time of my service under your Excellency (I not knowing it) had

gotten an execution forth against me, Gadson and he being the one witness for the other. This was about three days before the surrender of Oxford, at what time I lost out of my quarters a gelding worth (as times are now) at least 16*l.* Being very loth to become a prisoner again, I acquainted my Captain with my sad condition, and desired him that he would grant me a pass to go into Holland; he denied me, but at the last did grant it. The man whom I did hurt had seven articles of a most high nature proved against him; and the whole country wondered that he was not sequestered. It will be proved that he bribed a gentleman who gave false information to the Committee. His goods were then worth two thousand pound to be proved, but he is since broke, and now lieth in gaol. All his goods are made away. Your petitioner hath two friends that have paid 500*l.* for him. And three or four honest men were inforced to fly their country for his debts. Many have paid 100*l.* and 40*l.* a man for him; and in the mean time he lieth in gaol, drinketh sack and is merry. His sureties curse that gentleman, and their wives and children, who misinformed the Committee; and say that if the Committee had done right, they should have sequestered his estate, which might have helped to have paid the soldier.

This business and these sufferings being out of your petitioner's way above 140*l.* as he will prove, and the only occasion that your petitioner to his great grief was inforced to leave for a while the regiment, as Captain Laurence and Lieutenant Merrice can bear him witness, your petitioner most humbly prayeth that your Excellency will be pleased to take him and his petition into your consideration.

A further Relation of the Grievances of the said Mr. William Harrison, with a true discovery of abundance of Treasure sent down into the West, and divers persons there employed to raise forces (under pretence of the Service for Ireland) to make War against the Army commanded by his Excellency.

Having received a pass for the low countries, and intending to take shipping at Yarmouth, I was dissuaded from it by one Master

Duke, who liveth within ten miles of Yarmouth; it was at that time thought that the Scots and we should have differed; whereupon I marched northward, but God be thanked, it was not so; whereupon I turned my course and marched westwards to some of my wife's friends, knowing it not safe to return to my own country, my enemy Marriot having such power with great men in it. There I understood that Major General Skippon should be field-marshal for Ireland; whereupon I came to London, and got a friend, one Mr. Vickars, a wine merchant, to go along with me to the field-marshal, and forty men whom I had lifted to go with me into Ireland, in case that things were so settled, that the army might disband and I received my arrears; but when I came to Westminster, I found that the field-marshal was gone to the head-quarters at Saffron Walden. I made haste after him, and having inquired out his quarters, I made bold to go into his parlour, where I found him sitting alone; and having presented my service to him, he very nobly showed me kind respects, and asked me to whom I formerly did belong. I told him, and showed him my pass; whereupon he assured me, that on the next day my Captain and Major would be in town, and moreover assured me, that if the service went on, I should not want command; I was not willing to stay there long, money being short, and having had no pay in eleven months. But the next day my Major and Captain came, and they did me the favour readily to consent and go along with me unto Major General Skippon, whom we found very busy upon the treaty, where Lieutenant General Cromwell, seeing my Captain, employed him upon a message to some gentlemen in the town; but I stayed and heard the grievances related in the church, having taken a resolution with myself, not to adventure for Ireland without the army was satisfied and disbanded. It was my fortune presently after to observe Major General Skippon in the street; I ran after him, and once more made bold to demand of his honour how the business stood for Ireland? He told me, that for aught he knew, I might have as much command there as himself. Whereupon I marched again into the west, where staying for a season, I could hear but little truth in anything; I resolved therefore to return to London, to understand how the affairs stood, hoping that in so much time I should find things settled. My misfortune was such, that my horse miscarried in the way, but a friend lent me another, which when I came to London, I sent down by the carrier. Being come unto the City, I found a general melancholy and distraction of spirit, which made me fear a new war, insomuch that I could not sleep all night; in the

morning I took post for the west again, but had no warrant, and in this dispatch I continued until I came to Marlborough, where I desired post-horse to ride all night, which the post-master granted, but the Committee denied, partly because I had no warrant, and partly because they understood that I belonged to Sir Tho. Fairfax; I told them that I was very sorry that any who belonged to his Excellency should be so undervalued as not to be allowed post-horses for money to follow their necessary employments. The post told me, that the Committee was informed, that Sir Thomas Fairfax was falling off from what he was. I answered him in the heat of blood, that he was the son of a whore that told him so. And so having satisfied the charges of the house, I walked forth into the street, no man regarding me, where an honest young man, one who had been a soldier, Thomas Slatter by name, proffered to go along with me, and to do me any courtesy he could for Sir Thomas Fairfax, which accordingly he did, and carrying my cloak for me, I all that night travelled in my boots, and by the next night we came into Gloucestershire, and had marched on foot full fifty miles. There I found a friend who lent me a horse that carried me unto other friends; being with whom, I did send for divers gentlemen from the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, who loved me well; and having communicated myself unto them, and showed that the intent of Sir Thomas Fairfax was to restore the King to his parliament, to God's glory and our comfort, he enjoying his crown and dignity, and the subjects their liberties and privileges, I found the gentlemen so propense unto that cause, that for so good an end I should not want for men, money, horse, or arms, but I readily should have them.

Finding such a general inclination, I suddenly prepared for London again, and took my way by Tewksbury, and sent two messengers on foot to Stow-in-the-Old, to lodge there at the sign of the Crown, at the house of one Dickson. They came thither on Saturday night was three weeks, and found there ten guests, seven of them seeming to be gentlemen, and the other three to be their servants, who were directed by a special friend in private to that house. I came there on the Lord's day in the morning, and brought with me a gentleman that was my friend; these ten being merry, and frolic with the host of the house, he told them, that the King and parliament would agree. Immediately they declared themselves to be utterly against Sir Thomas Fairfax and his army, railing against his Excellency in a nature too high to report, and withal affirming, that if they had come through his army they had been all made slaves. Thereupon they confessed,

they were going to Worcester to raise forces for Ireland. They had in their portmanteau as much gold and silver as two men could easily lay upon a horse, they could not put their hands into their pockets to pay for a quart of wine, but they pulled forth handfuls of gold. I perceiving that this pretence of them for Ireland was only a design to raise forces against his Excellency's army, for I knew it could not be for Ireland, I called unto me the man of the house who was my friend, and told him that they were base fellows, for I was confident, that what they said was false; I therefore desired him that he would be pleased to depart his house, and when they were set at dinner, I and the three men with me would kill three or four of them, and give quarter to the rest, and bring up their money, horse and arms unto Sir Thomas Fairfax. The inn-keeper was daunted at it, and said, they were sent thither by a special friend, however if he thought they were against the King and Sir Thomas Fairfax, he would willingly on the highway be one of my side, and withal importuned me to be patient, and to forbear them in his own house. I was much vexed at it, and the rather, because they would have had away my two footmen with them: upon my soul, had the man of the house been right, we should have both mastered and disarmed them.

Seeing I could not prevail, I made haste from thence unto the army, and shortly after lay at Teddington in Bedfordshire, at the sign of the Griffin, extremely weary. On the next morning, I heard that the head-quarters would be at Hatfield, and going thence to Mr. Parrot's at Shidlington, I understood that the head-quarters were at Uxbridge, which made me and my friend to ride our horses very hard, insomuch that I tired mine, and left it with the constable of Barton, and came on foot to Uxbridge on the last Sunday morning: I there spoke with divers gentlemen of my acquaintance, to whom I made known the progress of my journey, and my many sufferings, and what was that which I came about.

The commanders being then busy at council, I met with young Mr. Cromwell, son to the Lieutenant General, by whose means I found out Lieutenant Merrice, and divers other gentlemen, by whom I understood that his Excellency was not raising of forces, but only standing on his own guard, hoping that all would be well. I intended, indeed, to present my service to his Excellency, with about three score or four score foot, and to give him in a true relation of the state of the countries where I had been, knowing where to arm 500 men. And if his Excellency would be pleased to send down a Colonel or two, I would

have shown him in a little compass he could be provided with one regiment of horse, and 2000 foot; but God be praised I found things in a better posture; howsoever, I was extremely discontented, considering how I had lost myself in the business.

Relating my mind to the soldiers, they kindly embraced me; I imparted to them in order all my grievances; and out of the true reality of their affections, and sense and fellow-feeling of my sufferings, it is the desire of the soldiers, with the advice of many of my betters in the army, that this should be committed to the press, and the first book to be delivered to the Committee of Northampton, to have a sight thereof, by which they may perceive how much misinformation hath abused them; and the soldier doth not doubt but that the committee (seeing how faithful I have been ever unto the service, and at what expense of money, and how I had both tired myself and horse to advance the welfare of the kingdom), would of themselves be pleased either to give or lend me a horse, with all furniture fitting for a gentleman, that so I may the better be accommodated to present myself unto his Excellency, and personally, and by word of mouth, declare myself unto him. And withal, whereas in the articles which I articled against Mr. Marriot, of Hartwell Park, they were not put in a way, or any mention of sequestration to be made for 2000*l.* worth of goods then to be proved, which was occasioned by a gentleman who gave false information, and deluded the committee, of whose honour I am, and always have been very tender, for I daily pray for Mr. Ousley, Mr. Farmer the High Sheriff, and the rest; and whereas, in assisting Mr. Marriot heretofore, with the hazard of my life, at Hartwell Park, I so far ventured to save his goods, that I killed a horse, and wounded four men: the honourable and virtuous Lady Crane (to whom they did belong) did forgive me all, when Mr. Marriot was to save me harmless, although it should cost him 500*l.*, for which fact some of the committee suffered me to be fined, which fine I paid, in the proceeding of which troubles both my wife and my children wanted. It is the soldier's desire that the saddle should be laid upon the right horse, Mr. Marriot having had the benefit of the crop, and that the fine that was paid should be restored to my wife and children. And if the gentleman who misinformed the committee shall be found out in Northampton town, or thereabouts, it is the soldier's desire that he shall be sent up unto the General, or kept in safe custody until he shall make good the 2000*l.*, for which I shall produce my witnesses; and the business to be heard in the army. And if that any man shall deny the party I

shall demand, the soldiers will fetch him with 2000 horse. It is also desired that all executions, writs, and warrants, and actions of battery, concerning Mr. Marriot's business, be made void. And if a new war shall happen in this kingdom (which God forbid), I do here fully declare myself to be for King and Parliament, and willingly to adventure my life in the service, and that I will give in unto the General a list of those gentlemen's names in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, that are able and ready to raise 1000 horse and 2000 foot, and willingly and altogether venture both lives, limbs, and fortunes for the King and Parliament, for the safety, for the reconcilement, and the happiness whereof, I do daily and devoutly pray.

The said Mr. Harrison says that the committee is much railed on in this kingdom, but he believes it is long of false intelligence. It is our desire in the whole army, that if the said Marriot shall deny to pay back this fine, that you gentlemen of the committee do pay it to his wife and children, and that you will be pleased to keep the said Marriot with bread and water till he restore the money to you again; for it is nothing but right, and in conscience you ought to see justice done. We hear that many knaves brought letters to Sir Richard Samuel, and did say anything to do Mr. Harrison wrong; they had best give him satisfaction, for we know Sir Richard Samuel well enough.

It is our whole army's desire, that if in case Mr. Harrison shall find out the gentleman who kept Marriot from being sequestered, that then he challenging the man to you, he be kept safe till we fetch him, and Mr. Harrison produce his witness, and then the business to be heard before Sir Tho. Fairfax, and the 2000*l.* before spoken of to be returned to the Parliament's use.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE MALIGNANTS.

[We are not aware that the following document, possessing high historical importance, as furnishing in detail the grounds of the charge brought by the Army against the Malignants, has been printed in any of the collections. It is here given from the original Tract, published in 1647.]

A particular Charge of Impeachment, in the name of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Army under his Command, against Denzill Holles, Esq., Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Knights; Major-General Massey, John Glyn, Esq., Recorder of London; Walter Long, Esq., Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholl, Esq., Members of the House of Commons.

WHEREAS on the 15th day of June last, the heads of a charge were delivered in the name of the said army, unto the courts of Parliament, to be sent up to the Parliament against the persons above named. Now in prosecution and maintenance thereof, and according to the power thereby reserved, it is in the name of the said army more particularly charged against the said persons as followeth:

I. That the said Mr. Denzill Holles, during the late war, in prosecution of the evil designs expressed in the general heads or

articles formerly exhibited, contrary to the trust reposed in him, contrary to his oath taken in June, 1643, and contrary to the ordinance of Parliament dated in October, 1643, hath assisted the King in the late unnatural war, and held correspondence and intelligence with the enemy against the Parliament, in manner following, viz., he, the said Mr. Holles, being one of the special commissioners for the Parliament, to present propositions of both Houses to the king at Oxford, did privately, and contrary to his instructions, at several times, make his addresses unto the king's party, there then in arms against the Parliament, namely, unto the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Savile, and others; and did secretly plot and advise them against the Parliament; and did intimate unto them, or one of them, that the said propositions, then sent unto his Majesty by the Parliament, were unreasonable: and the said Mr. Holles being demanded what answer he would advise the King to make to the said propositions, he, the said Mr. Holles, did advise that the King should demand a treaty however, and then declare how unreasonable the propositions were, and that yet, for the peace of the kingdom, his Majesty would treat upon them; but, withal, wished that the said treaty might be in London, whither the King himself should come upon security. And he, the said Mr. Holles, adding that there was nothing in the world that the violent party (meaning the well-affected party to the Parliament against the enemy) did so much fear as his Majesty's coming to London, which would be a certain dissolution of their authority and power: and the said Mr. Holles bade those said persons, or one of them, assure the King, that if his Majesty knew as much as he the said Mr. Holles knew, his Majesty would take his horse and be at London the next day, or words to that effect. And it being again demanded whether, if the King should be willing to come, it would be accepted of? he, the said Mr. Holles, thereto answered, that certainly it would be much opposed, but yet he, the said Mr. Holles, was confident, that he and his party (meaning some of the members above named, and others) should carry it, and wished the King to put it upon that trial. And the said Mr. Holles was desired by the said Earl of Lindsey, Earl of Southampton, and Lord Savile, or one of them, that he would be pleased to draw such an answer in writing to the said propositions, as he desired the King should send; and the said Earl of Southampton, who was that night to lay in the King's bedchamber, would persuade the King to condescend unto it; and thereupon the said Mr. Holles withdrew, and either the same day, or the next day following, the said Mr.

Holles accordingly carried in his hand unto the said lords, or one of them, a paper ready written, which, as he said, was such an answer to the said propositions as he had drawn for the King to send to the Parliament; which was taken by the said lords, or one of them, and carried to the King to be considered of; and so much thereof as advised the King's coming to London was laid by, the King fearing to adventure himself, but the rest of the said paper the Lord Digby, who wrote the King's answer to the propositions, made use of, in the same words as the said Mr. Holles had set down. And the said Mr. Holles, to ingratiate himself with the King's party, did about the same time revile the well-affected members of the House of Commons, declaring unto the said King's party at Oxford, or some of them, that those well-affected members (which, to render them the more odious as he conceived, he named the violent independent party) had ill intentions and great aversion to peace; and that nothing would be more pleasing to them than for the King to refuse the propositions, how unreasonable soever the same were; and he also then said, that the Commissioners of Scotland were very weary of that violent party, and that they, being desperate to establish their Presbytery here as in Scotland, made their addresses to him, the said Mr. Holles and his party. All which tended to the protracting of the said late war, and to the hindrance of a happy peace.

And the said Mr. Holles did also after that receive from the said Earl of Lindsey at Oxford a letter written in white ink, concerning some secret design, and kept it from the knowledge of the House from February till about July after, when it was discovered by him that brought it, but the letter itself was by the said Mr. Holles, after he had read it, burnt; and the said Earl of Lindsey moved the King for a pass for the said Mr. Holles to go to Oxford, but the King refused to grant it, saying, that Holles did him better service in the Parliament than he could do him at Oxford.

II. That the said Mr. Holles, and Sir Philip Stapleton, during the said late wars, when the Earl of Lindsey went from the Tower of London to Oxford, sent several messages of intelligence to the Earl of Dorset, and Lord Digby, thereby assuring them, that they, the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, did better service for the King here in Parliament than they could do him if they were at Oxford; and the said Sir Philip Stapleton desired, that the said Earl of Dorset would preserve him, the said Sir Philip Stapleton and his friends, in the good opinion of the party at Oxford, (which was then the King's garrison) and he, the said Sir Philip, would do as much for his lordship,

and his friends here, with the Parliament. And the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, the more to ingratiate themselves into the favour of the enemy, did of their own accord, without any direction of the Parliament, draw up other propositions than those mentioned in the preceding articles, which they affirm were in their judgments fit for the King to grant, and for the Parliament to desire; and being so drawn up, sent them privately to his Majesty, without any authority of Parliament to warrant the same.

III. That the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major General Massie, Mr. Glynn, Mr. Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholl, in the months of March, April, May, and June last past, and at other times, in prosecution of the evil designs in the several general heads mentioned, have frequently assembled and met together at the Lady Carlisle's lodgings in Whitehall, and in other places, with divers other persons disaffected to the state (without any authority of Parliament), for holding correspondence with the Queen of England now in France, and her participants, with an intent by such secret and clandestine treaties amongst themselves to put conditions upon the Parliament, and to bring in the King upon their own terms, and having a great power upon the treasure of this kingdom, have therewith maintained and encouraged, by pensions and otherwise, the Queen's party in France, thereby to beget a second and more bloody war in this kingdom; and they, or some or one of them, assured the Queen 40,000*l.* per annum, if she would assist them in their design, and that they would do more for the King than the army would do, and that they would find out some means to destroy the army and their friends.

IV. That in further pursuance of the same evil designs, they, the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, and Major General Massie, by the combination aforesaid, within the space of three months last past, without any authority of Parliament invited the Scots, and other foreign forces, to come into this kingdom in a hostile manner, to abet and assist them in the persecuting and effecting of their said designs. And the said Mr. Holles very lately sent to the said Queen of England, then and still in France, advising her, amongst other things, speedily to send the Prince into Scotland, to march into this kingdom at the head of an army, and did send a special messenger to her for such ends and purposes. And the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William

Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Glynn, Major General Massie, Mr. Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholl, have, underhand of their own accord, without authority of Parliament, listed, or caused or procured to be listed, divers commanders and soldiers, endeavouring thereby to levy and raise a new war in this kingdom, to protect themselves in their unjust oppressions and factious designs, and have at several times within the space of two months last past, invited, encouraged, abetted, and counselled multitudes of reformado-officers and soldiers, and other rude persons, tumultuously and violently to gather together at Westminster, to affright and assault the members of Parliament in their passage to and from the House, to offer violence to the House itself, by locking the door thereof upon them, and so imprisoning them; and by such violences, outrages, and threats, to awe and enforce the Parliament.

V. That the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Mr. Glynn have been, and are obstructers and prejudgers of several petitions to the Parliament for redress of public grievances, and the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, in the month of May last past, did abuse and affront divers petitioners, who in a peaceable manner then attended the Committee, whereof Colonel Lee was chairman; not only reviling and reproaching them, but violently haling, and boisterously assaulting them, and offered to draw their swords upon Major Tuleday, and others of the said petitioners, and without any authority or power committed Nicholas Tewe, one of the petitioners; and soon afterwards, by the procurement of the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, and upon their misinformation to the House, the said Major Tuleday and Nicholas Tewe were imprisoned, not being permitted to speak for themselves; and the said Mr. Glynn, about three months since, caused the said Nicholas Tewe to be imprisoned in Newgate, and to be detained a long time there, for no other cause but for having a petition about him, which was to be presented to the House.

VI. That the said Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, and Major General Massie have lately, in prosecution of the said designs in the said general heads mentioned, against the known laws of this realm, and rules and articles of war, made by Parliament, by an arbitrary power, imprisoned some members of the army without any authority, particularly Ensign Nichols, whose pockets they, without authority, caused to be searched, and several papers to be taken from him, contrary to the liberty of every subject, and caused him to be sent a prisoner from the head-quarters to London, without the

authority or privity of the General, or the chief officers of the army, commanding in his absence.

VII. That in or about the month of March last, there being a petition intended from the officers and soldiers of the army to their General, (for such things only as were justly due unto them, and concerning them merely as soldiers,) the said Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, and Colonel Edward Harley, a member of the army, (having gotten into their hands a copy of the said petition,) by combination with the other members abovementioned, with an intent to abuse the Parliament into prejudices and jealousies against the proceedings of the army, concerning the said petition, (they well knowing that the said army stood in their way, and hindereth them from bringing to pass the designs in the said general charges expressed,) did falsely and maliciously inform the House, that the said petition was contrived and promoted to debauch and disoblige the army from the Parliament, and that it was managed and carried on by divers principal officers in the army; that orders were given out for the reading of it in the head of every regiment, and whosoever would not subscribe it, should be put out of the musters, and cashiered the army, and by those and other aggravations, did represent it to the House as a design against the Parliament; further adding, that some regiments which were remote were sent for to join with the rest of the army for that purpose, by which misinformations they, the said members, did the same day procure a peremptory order to the General to suppress the said petition.

VIII. That some few days after, Colonel Edward Harley, by the combination aforesaid, and in pursuance of the same designs, did produce to the House a letter, supposed to be written from within the quarters of the army, to him the said Colonel Harley, by a person not named, whereby it was informed that Colonel Harley's Lieutenant Colonel had drawn his regiment to a rendezvous, and had caused the said petition to be read at the head of it, and that he threatened to cashier and put out of the musters all that would not subscribe it, and that the design of the army therein was to enslave the Parliament and kingdom, (if the Parliament proceeded not to some high resolution) or to that effect, as by the said letter (relation thereunto being had) may appear; and, although the substance of the said letter was most untrue, and no author thereof appeared, nor could be produced, although a Committee was appointed for examination thereof, and it was much pressed the author should be discovered, yet the said Colonel

Harley, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir William Waller, did so avow the reality of the said letter, and that the contents thereof would be made good, as that thereby, and by other false suggestions of theirs against the army, they procured the House (upon a long debate, which held till about eight of the clock at night) to order that a committee of five members (whereof the said Mr. Holles was one) should prepare a declaration, to be brought into the House the next morning, signifying the House's dislike of the proceedings of the army upon that petition, as by the said order dated ——— day of ——— last, may appear.

Upon which settling of the said business for that night, most of the members departed, as conceiving nothing would be done thereupon till the next day, and that then they might have a free debate concerning the same; but the House still continuing to sit (upon dispatch of some letters formerly ordered) the said Mr. Holles, by the same combination, and in further prosecution of the said evil designs, having of himself (without the committee) prepared a declaration against the petition itself, contrary to the intention and direction of the said order, and contrary to the rules of justice and usual course of Parliament, did the same night, about ten of the clock, on purpose to surprise the House, present the same declaration to the House, whereby the said petitioners were (without being heard) declared enemies to the State, and obstructers to the relief of Ireland, if they persisted therein, (as by the same declaration, relation being thereunto had may appear,) and did procure it to be then passed accordingly, to the great dishonour of the Parliament and their proceedings, to the insufferable injury, the just provocations, discouragement, and discontent of the army, to the trouble and danger of the whole kingdom, to the hindering of the relief of Ireland, and other the evil consequences in the said general charges expressed,

IX. That by the same, and the like false informations and suggestions, the said Colonel Harley (then a member of the army), Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, and the said other persons, did, shortly after the declaration so made as aforesaid, procure divers eminent and faithful officers of the army, namely, Lieutenant General Hammond, Colonel Hammond, Colonel Lilburne, Lieutenant Colonel Pride, and others, to be all sent for from their charges in the army to appear at the bar of the House, to make answer in relation to the said petition, against whom, when they came thither, they could charge or prove nothing at all, insomuch as the House thought fit immediately to discharge them. And whereas there was a committee appointed to

examine and consider of the truth or falsehood of them, and the said members informing were appointed to produce their proofs and evidence to the same before the committee; though they have since then been often urged to produce their proofs and evidence thereto (if they had any), and have been plainly told that if they did not proceed effectually to do it they should be accounted the authors and devisers of the said falsehoods, and reparation would accordingly be demanded against them, yet they have not to this day produced any proofs or evidence to any of the said informations or suggestions, whereby the Parliament and the army were so much abused as before is declared; nor could they, or any of them, be hitherto persuaded to give into the said committee any charge against the said officers of the army, which they have then or since procured to be sent for as aforesaid, but have held divers of them in a long and chargeable attendance upon the House, without anything laid to their charge, until the House was pleased to discharge them.

X. That the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, and Major General Massie, in further pursuance of the designs mentioned in the general heads charged against them, have been great instruments in the obstructing of the relief of Ireland; and, within the space of two months last past, did falsely inform the House that, by their procurement, there were fifty companies of foot and ten troops of horse of this army engaged for Ireland, upon the terms and under the conduct then by the Parliament propounded; and the more to elude the Parliament herein, they, or some of them, by the combination aforesaid, did procure divers officers then in this army, namely, Colonel Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Jackson, Major Gooday, and others to give in their names as enlisting themselves for Ireland, on the said terms and conduct propounded, whereas those officers did at the same time declare themselves unwilling thereunto, and resolved not to go and serve in Ireland on any terms whatsoever; they, the said members, underhand assuring them that though they made use of their names, yet they should not go for that service. They have likewise untruly informed the House, and given in the names of many considerable officers of the army, namely, Captain Pennifather, and Captain Burgess, of Colonel Butler's regiment; Captain Clarke, and four or more commissioned officers of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment, and others, as having been subscribed for Ireland, who did not so engage or subscribe, nor give any consent thereto, but did then, and have ever since utterly disavowed and denied the same.

And about the same time they also reported to the House the name and offer of Lieutenant Colonel Farrington, as being then a Lieutenant Colonel of this army, and engaging for himself and his regiment for Ireland, whereas the said Farrington had been cashiered the army a year and a half before. By which other and their untrue informations and reports of that nature, the Parliament was abused and misled into a conceit and confidence of a strength out of the army, then supposed to be engaged and ready for Ireland on their own turns, when, as in truth, the same was but a mere delusion, and which was so contrived on purpose to occasion a slighting and neglecting of the army, as supposing no further use for them.

XI. Whereas part of three regiments of foot (viz., Colonel Herbert's, Colonel Kemp's, and Colonel Gray's,) were by order of the House advanced towards the relief of Ireland as far as Bromesgrave, in the county of Worcester. The said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Lewis, Major General Massie, Sir William Waller, and Mr. Glynn, by combination aforesaid, did, of their own accord, without the knowledge or direction of the House, on the 6th day of June last, (being Sabbath day, and without summoning a committee,) command those forces back again as far as Reading, with an evil intent to draw forces together to beget a new war in England.

XII. That the said Sir John Clotworthy, in prosecution of the designs in the said general charge expressed, hath in the years 1642, 1643, 1644, and since, converted several large sums of money (which, by several orders of Parliament, and of the Irish committee, were designed for the relief of Ireland,) to his own particular use; namely, the sum of 280*l.*, which, by order of both Houses, dated the 11th of February, 1642, was to be paid for twenty butts of sack for Ireland; 700*l.* which the same day was also ordered for 2000 swords; 300*l.* which by order of the said Irish Committee, dated the 1st of April, 1643, was designed for 120 pair of pistols, and divers other sums of money upon several other orders, which he, the said Sir John Clotworthy, from time to time, received for the use and relief of Ireland, but were not employed to the uses, by the said orders intended and directed, but to his, the said Sir John Clotworthy's own private use as aforesaid. And that he hath, within two years last past, received several sums of moneys, arms, and other provisions, for a troop of horse, which he pretended he had raised in Ireland; whereas he had not, nor did raise or furnish any such troop as he pretended. And that he,

the said Sir John Clotworthy, for money and other rewards, hath preferred John Davies and William Summers, and others, to be entrusted with the Irish affairs, who have kept correspondence with the enemy, and have defrauded the State of other great sums of money, and he hath been privy to, and a sharer in such, their actions.

XIII. That about November last past the said Sir John Clotworthy being by the Parliament sent a commissioner with others into Ireland, who all had a joint power or authority to treat with the Earl of Ormond for the space of four days, and no more, he the said Sir John Clotworthy, contrary to the special trust reposed in him, held secret intelligence with the said Earl of Ormond, by cypher or character, without the consent or knowledge of those others in commission with him; and many weeks after the time so limited was expired, and about the same time he the said Sir John Clotworthy held the like secret intelligence with the Lord George Digby, then in Ireland, beyond the time prefixed, and without the consent of the said other commissioners, and in order thereunto the Lords Ormond and Digby lately employed one Slingsby, who pretends a design about the Prince, to come into this kingdom.

XIV. That the said Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, by combination with the rest of the members before-named (in further prosecution of the designs mentioned in the same), well knowing that the Lord Lisle, late President of Ireland, was both faithful and vigilant while he was trusted in the same kingdom, and had now this last Spring made provisions ready to march into the field, and that the Lord Baron of Broghill, General of the Parliament horse in Munster, and Colonel Sir Arthur Loftus, persons of honour and reputation, and of great fortunes in the said kingdom, lately came purposely into this kingdom, to exhibit, and did exhibit, many articles of high treason against the Lord Inchiquin, for betraying the Parliament's army to the enemy (as formerly he had done), yet by the great power and violent interposition of the said Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, by the practice and combination aforesaid, the said articles having been obstructed, and the business not suffered to come to a hearing, and the said Lord Lisle hastily called out of Ireland, and the power and command of the Parliament forces in that kingdom committed to the said Lord of Inchiquin, to the loss of this Summer's service, and the expense of much treasure, to make new preparations. And whereas the said Lord Lisle being so suddenly called from thence as aforesaid, did design and depute Sir Hardress Waller

Knight, Major General of the forces there, a man of known integrity and courage, both for his service in England and in Ireland, and of considerable fortunes, there to take care of the said Lord Lisle's forces till the pleasure of the Parliament might be further known. The said Lord of Inchiquin, upon the receipt of a letter from the said Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Holles, and Sir Philip Stapleton, or one of them, or from some other person, by their or one of their direction, privity, or procurement, did express that he had order or direction from London, that no man that favoured the Independents (under which name the said Lord of Inchiquin hath comprehended all men that have showed themselves opposite to tyranny and arbitrary government) should have any trust or warrant there; nay, though they were of another judgment, yet if they would not prosecute the Independents they should not be employed there, or words to that effect; and under colour thereof, the said Sir Hardress Waller, and all others that formerly had had their commissions from the said Lord Lisle, while he commanded, were displaced, to the discouragement of those other faithful persons, and to the Parliament, and to the great disservice and danger of the loss of this kingdom.

XV. That whereas a Committee of the House of Commons hath been lately appointed by the Parliament to consider of propositions for the settling and preservation of Wales, whereof the said Sir William Lewis and Master Glynn were and are members, and to report the same to the House. They the said Sir William Lewis, and Master Glynn, with others of the said committee did, on the 30th day of April now last past, without any authority of Parliament, before any report made to the House of their own accord (instead of settling and preserving Wales), order that all committees for sequestrations should forbear all proceedings of sequestration, against all or any of the inhabitants of Wales; and although some few persons were, upon general heads, excepted, yet by virtue of that illegal order, all the commissioners of peace and commissioners of association, who were as active in raising money and pressing men, to serve against the Parliament as any others, all the commissioners of array, that did or should at any time come in, or submit to the Parliament or their commanders-in-chief, without any limitation of time, all that had borne arms against the Parliament, unless they were governors and other officers of war, that held out some town, castle, or fort against the Parliament; all disaffected and scandalous ministers (though in their sermons they usually reviled and scandalised the Parliament and their proceedings,

calling them rebels and traitors, and not only incensing the people against the Parliament, but usually taking up arms, and leading their parishioners in arms upon any alarm against the Parliament; and many other desperate delinquents have been, and still are taken off and freed from sequestration; and the said order was sent to every committee in Wales, in several letters, contrary to several orders and ordinances of Parliament, and contrary to the rules of justice and equity, which should impartially be administered as well in Wales as in other places of this kingdom, whereby the ill-affected gentry and ministry of that country are grown so high and insolent, that honest men dare scarce live amongst them; so as that which was intended by the Parliament, to settle and preserve Wales, is (by the practice of the said Sir William Lewis, and Mr. Glynn), perverted to the danger and destruction of it.

XVI. That the said Sir William Lewis, and Mr. Glynn, have further ingratiated themselves with the delinquents of Wales, and prepared them for their said designs in manner following; viz., he the said Sir William Lewis has, within two years last past, countenanced and protected many of the most notorious and dangerous delinquents within the several counties of South Wales, namely, the Lord of Carberry, and others in Carnarvonshire, Mr. Carew and others in Glamorganshire, Mr. Morgan, late Knight of the Shire, Mr. John Herbert, and others in Brecknockshire, Mr. Gwynne, Mr. Lewis, and divers others in Radnorshire, by freeing some of them altogether from compositions, though sequestered, by labouring divers members of the House, and of committees, to be favourable in compounding with others, and to admit of such to their compositions as were incapable thereof; and the said Sir William Lewis hath animated, and encouraged some of the said persons to continue their fidelity to the King's cause, promising them, that if they would engage their friends with the King for him, he and his would be their friends in the Parliament, insomuch as his friends (the delinquents in those parts) have lately looked on him as a rising man when the King shall come to London—which hath lately been their constant boasting. And the said Sir William Lewis hath within two years last past, caused divers that had been Commissioners for the King, and had pressed men, and raised money to promote the late war against the Parliament, namely, his brother, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gwynne, Mr. Charles Walbiffe, Mr. Meredith Lewis, Mr. Edward Williams, and many others, to be Commissioners of the Peace, and committee men

for the said county of Brecknock; insomuch as those that have been most active and faithful to the Parliament, have been, and still are, outvoted in those places, and can do no considerable service for the Parliament, and the rather for that the said Sir William Lewis hath also procured one Edward Williams, (his own kinsman, and one much disaffected to the Parliament,) to be Solicitor of Sequestrations in the said county, who is, and hath been, very remiss and corrupt therein. And the said Sir William Lewis hath, by the means aforesaid, lately procured Mr. Edmond Lewis, his son, (though unfit for that employment,) to be chosen and returned burgess for Brecknock, which that he might the better effect, he kept the writ for election of the said burgess above eight months in his own custody, before it was delivered to the Sheriff of the said county. And likewise, that the said Mr. John Glynn, within two years last past, hath procured several persons, that have lately been commissioners of array, and in arms against the Parliament at North Wales, viz., ———— and others, to be named, in the commissions of the peace for the counties of Denbigh and Carnarvon, and other counties there, and to be put in other great places of trust and command there; and amongst others, Colonel Glynn, his brother, who was lately a Colonel in the King's army, is, by the said Mr. John Glynn's procurement, became Governor of the town and Castle of Carnarvon, and Admiral or Vice-Admiral of the Irish seas, to the endangering of those counties lying upon the coasts towards Ireland, and to the fear and discouragement of the well-affected inhabitants of those places.

XVII. That the said Sir William Lewis, being heretofore during these troubles governor of Portsmouth, a garrison for the Parliament (in which time he received much of the public treasure, for which he hath not yet given an account), did while he was governor there, frequently hold correspondence and intelligence with the King's party, about the delivery up of the said garrison, insomuch as although Sir William Waller and divers others in that garrison were proclaimed traitors to the King, yet he (by the King's special command) was spared, the King affirming that the said Sir William Lewis was his friend, and that he was confident he would do him good service, or to that effect; and although he then was a Parliament man, and governor of Portsmouth as aforesaid, and his estate in the said county of Brecon (being of the value of above 600*l.* per annum) was three years in the King's quarters, yet the same was never sequestered. And since the Parliament hath prevailed, Colonel Herbert Price, Esq., having

been governor of Brecknock for the King against the Parliament being sequestered, the said Sir William Lewis, by his solicitations to the committee, procured the personal estate of the said Colonel Price (which the committee of the county had found out and caused to be brought to Morgan Aubrey's house in Brecon), to be restored unto him without any satisfaction to the State, and hath procured his, the said Colonel Price's lands in the said county of Brecon, being worth about 300*l.* per annum, to be let to a friend of the said Colonel Price, to his wife's use, at 50*l.* per annum, contrary to the directions of several ordinances of Parliament made in that behalf.

XVIII. That the said Mr. John Glynn, or some other person or persons, by his direction, consent, or privity, or to his use, hath, during his being a member of the House of Commons, taken rewards of several persons for service done them in the House, as, namely, amongst others, divers drovers from Wales, who, by his means and procurement, had an allowance by order of the House for 3000*l.*, in satisfaction of losses they had sustained by the enemy, did pay unto the wife of the said Mr. Glynn the sum of 100*l.* as a reward for his said service.

XIX. That the said Mr. John Glynn, as he hath been most active to bring into the commissions of peace and into other places of authority, divers notorious delinquents in North Wales as aforesaid, so he hath been as active (as much as in him lies) to put out and keep out of the militia and Common Council of London, and out of the commission of the peace for Middlesex, many eminent and faithful men that have laid out their estates and adventured their lives for the defence of the Parliament and City in the time of their greatest necessity; namely, Alderman Pennington, Colonel Tichburne, Mr. Eastwick, Mr. Moyer, and others, contrary to the declaration of both kingdoms, which hath assured all lawful favour and encouragement to those that have been faithful, and shall so continue to the Parliament, which doings must needs tend to the giving a fresh occasion and power to the enemy against the Parliament's best friends, to the dishonour of the Parliament and the endangering of the kingdom.

XX. That the said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, and Sir William Lewis, have, by their power and countenance as members of the House of Commons, both jointly and severally used means to obstruct the course of justice, and have interposed themselves in several causes, and by word of mouth moved and persuaded judges and other officers, on the behalf of such as they conceive to be their friends: amongst others, whereas a great cause was lately depending in the

House of Lords between Alderman Langham and Captain Lymery, and counsel was met for the pleading thereof; the said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, and Sir William Lewis, did repair to the Earl of Rutland about the same, and the said Sir Philip Stapleton told the said Earl that they (meaning himself and the said Mr. Holles and Sir William Lewis), were fully satisfied concerning the justness of Langham's cause, and therefore, as the said Earl did respect them, the said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, and Sir William Lewis, or expected from them, he, the said Earl of Rutland, should give his vote for Langham, or used words to that effect, which also was seconded by the said Mr. Holles in words, and agreed unto by the said Sir William Lewis, as appeared by his presence and gesture, and the said Sir William Lewis did exercise the same power in a cause of John Gunter and others.

XXI. That the said Mr. Anthony Nicholls, although about four years since he was (by a committee of privileges) voted that he was not a member fit to sit in the House by reason his election was void; yet he, the said Mr. Nicholls, doth not only sit and vote there as a member, but by his power and threats in the west countries, and by his solicitations and indirect practices, had brought in, or procured to be brought in, about twenty-eight members more out of Cornwall, on purpose to carry on the designs and practices before mentioned, and to make a faction in the said House. And, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, he, the said Mr. Nicholls, doth still hold a place in the Tower, formerly conferred upon him by the House, and receiveth the profits thereof to his own use.

XXII. That the said Mr. Nicholls hath, since his sitting in the House as aforesaid, taken rewards for service done there, namely—whereas Sir William Uvedale, Knight, for deserting the Parliament, and going to York with the King, was suspended the House, he, the said Mr. Nicholls, for the sum of 100*l.* or 150*l.* paid unto him, or to his use, by the said Sir William Uvedale, or some for him, did, by misinformations to the House, procure the said Sir William Uvedale to be re-admitted a member of the said House. And the said Mr. Nicholls, while he was a member of the Committee for Safety, he and others of the said committee, having issued forth a warrant for searching Greenwich House: he, the said Mr. Nicholls, did, underhand, acquaint one of the Queen's officers therewith, and thereby prevented the design of the said committee, to the great disservice of the Parliament and kingdom.

XXIII. That the said Mr. Long, at the beginning of the late wars, not having courage sufficient to perform his duty in military affairs, did, out of covetousness or other unworthy end, procure a command of a troop of horse, under his Excellency the late Lord General, the Earl of Essex; but whenever his said troop came upon any service, he, the said Mr. Long, out of fear or treachery, unworthily absented himself, and never was seen or known to charge the enemy in person, though his troop often engaged—namely, at the battle of Edgehill; when he saw there were like to be blows, he, the said Mr. Long, left the field, and never charged before his troop; and at the battle or fight at Brainford, though his troop were there, yet he staid at London till the danger was passed, and the fighting done. And when his troop was sent into the west, he took no other notice of it, but to receive his pay, and in the meanwhile he repaired into the county of Essex, and procured a commission to be a colonel of horse, and, instead of fighting against the Parliament's enemies, he betook himself to plunder and oppress the Parliament's friends there; and, contrary to order, and without any authority or exigencies of war compelling him thereunto, enforced great sums of money, and many horses and other provisions from the country—namely, from Mr. Thomas Manwood, a man well affected, who had the General's protection, and whose horses had been taken from the plough, and others, to the great losses and oppression of the people, and to the great dishonour of the Parliament, whose service he nevertheless neglected, and hath not hitherto given an account of the great sums of money, and other things, that he had so exacted of the country, as aforesaid.

XXIV. That the said Mr. Long afterwards, upon pretence of some losses sustained by the enemy, and some great service he had done for the State, did procure of the House a great office in the Chancery—namely, to be the chief registrar of that court, wherein his skill was little, and whereof he was, and still is, altogether incapable; and, although for a time, upon the self-denying ordinance, he was displaced, yet upon the motion, or by the power and means of the said Mr. Holles, he hath obtained the same office again, to the great prejudice of skilful clerks that have been bred up in the said court, to the disservice of the commonwealth, and the dishonour of the House.

XXV. That the said Mr. Long, on purpose to drive on the designs in the said several charges expressed, hath, for the space of two years last past, usually pressed and urged several members to give their votes such ways as he pleased, and to that end and purpose doth constantly

place himself near the door of the House, that when any debate is concerning any design wherein his party is engaged, he, the said Mr. Long, hath used much tampering and violence to such of his own party as would go out of the House and hath persuaded them to continue there for their votes; and he, the said Mr. Long, in case any such have gone out of the House, hath been very inquisitive where they might be found, that so he may go for them when the business in debate comes near to be put to the vote, and when they come out according to his expectation, doth ordinarily and speedily run out of the House himself to call them and drive them in again; that he hath been commonly called (by those that are without the House, and have taken notice of his actions) the Parliament Driver; whereby the freedom of the members is taken from them, and the manner of the Parliament's proceedings much scandalised, and many times evil and dangerous designs drove on in a faction by votes, to the great prejudice of the commonwealth.

All which matters and things the said army shall and will be ready (in convenient time) to make good, by proof upon oath, as this honourable House shall direct. And for that by reason of the straitness of time, and other more weighty affairs of the army, they could not so fully finish and accomplish the said articles; therefore, the said army still reserve further liberty to add other articles against the said members, or any of them, at any time before the trial, as occasion shall serve.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Council of War.

(Signed) JOHN RUSHWORTH,
Secretary.

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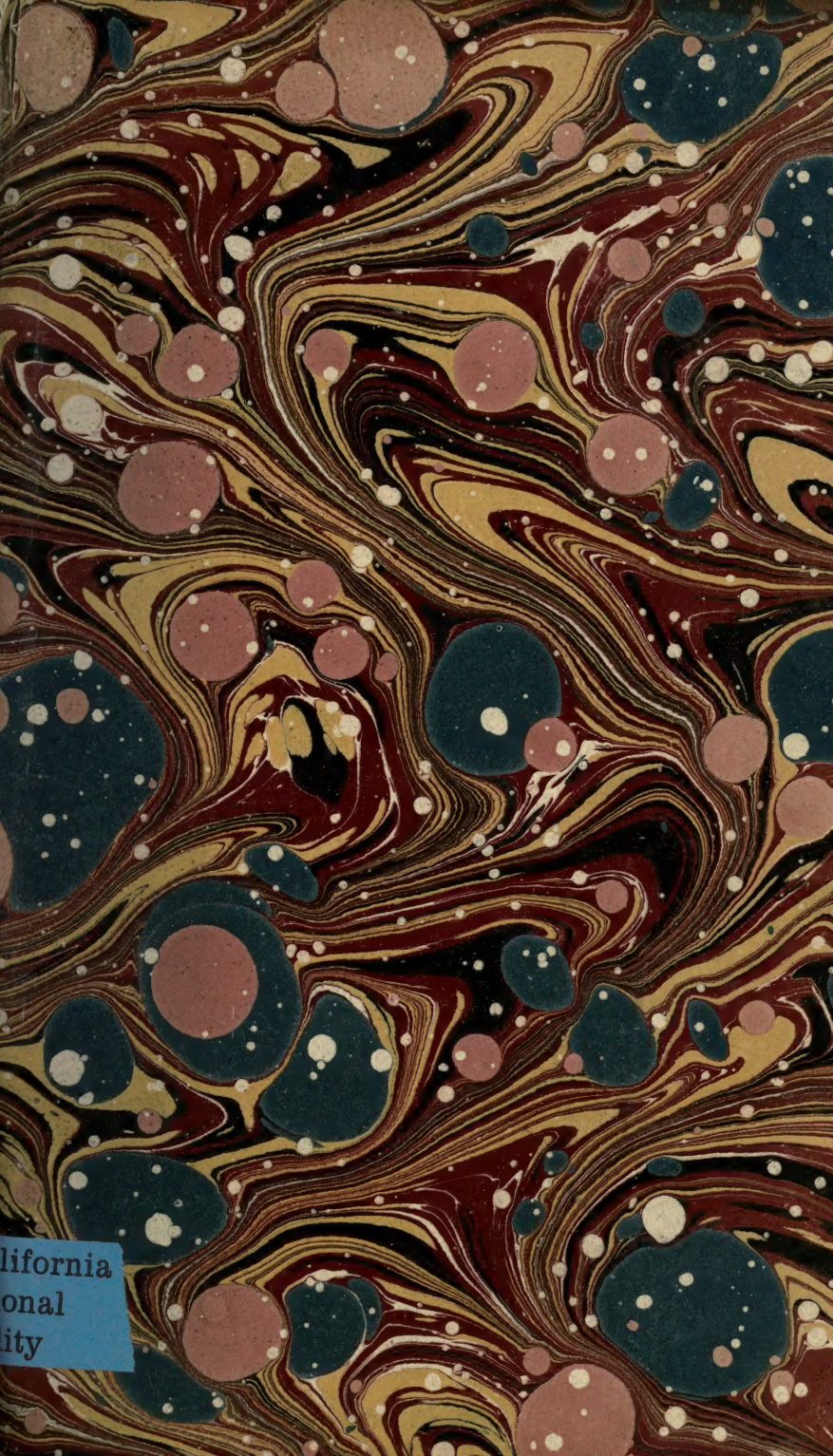
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